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# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1859

- ART. I. - 1. *Annual Report of the Revenue Survey Operations in the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh for Season 1856-57.* Calcutta: Military Orphan Press.
2. *Dry Leaves from Central India: - Engineer's Journal of India and the Colonies:* Calcutta.
3. *Professor Oldham's Structures on the Geology of Central India.*

ATTENTION has been recently called to the progress of Revenue Survey Operations in the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Sindh, by the able Annual Report which Major Claudet has furnished for the Season 1856-57. This subject, so useful in an economical point of view, may not to the general reader prove dry and uninteresting.

Like the Ordnance survey of England, that great national undertaking, the topographical survey of India is based on a system of accurate triangulation. Those who are acquainted with the system of triangulation carried on by the Ordnance Survey, or with the internal details of work of the Southampton Office, will not be at a loss to understand the workings of the system in India. The principal series of triangulation of the Ordnance Survey, carried on with the most rigorous precaution and with the most perfect mechanical means which human ingenuity can devise, is scarcely susceptible of any appreciable error. Projected from the measured base lines on the shores of Lough Foyle and Salisbury Plain, the sides of those triangles vary from sixty to thirty miles. Checked by Azimuths of verification, the ratio of error between measured base lines and their computed distance scarcely exceeds two and a half inches for seven miles. This minuteness and accuracy are indispensably necessary, where the object of the large triangulation is to form a basis for a network of smaller and subsidiary triangles.

The mode of procedure and the object of the Great Triangometrical Survey in India, are precisely the same. The super-

ture of detail topographical work in the two countries is, however, widely different.

From the time when the Great Trigonometrical Survey was first commenced by Colonel Lambton in 1801, it had for its object the acceptance of a basis for topographical survey. It is by means of it, to use Colonel Waugh's expression, that the four initial elements required for commencing a survey are obtained: viz. 1st, a point of departure, the latitude and longitude of which are fixed: 2nd, a linear element or base of ascertained length; 3rd, an initial Azimuth or true direction of the meridian; and 4th, the height above the sea level. On this basement is the structure of topographical survey in India raised. Less costly, perhaps, and less minute than the Ordnance Survey, it is admirably adapted for the requirements of our Indian Empire. In the Ordnance Survey the method adopted to fill in the topographical details by means of subsidiary triangles and chain measurement, delineating every physical and artificial feature. This method, admirably adapted where accuracy and minuteness are indispensably necessary, would for our colossal Indian Empire prove too slow and too costly.

The Indian Empire embraces an area of a million and a half of square miles. England, Scotland, and Wales, do not exceed ninety thousand. That system, then, of a contoured trigonometrical survey, of which the contouring alone might be estimated to cost 40 Rs. per mile, would not satisfy the conditions for which a topographical survey in India is necessary; nor would it be adapted to the physical nature of the country. Departing, then, from that system, the substitution of the plane table has been adopted for topographical survey operations in India. This system has been found the least expensive and felicitous, it allows of the greatest rapidity of execution compatible with correctness, and can be entrusted to native agency under European superintendence.

The results for eleven years are before us, exemplified in the operation of the North-West and Punjaub surveys.

No. of Parties.	Division of Surveys.	Area Surveyed.	Total Cost.	Average rate per Sqr. Mile.	Grant allowed.	Savings to Govt.
		Sqr. miles.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5	Bengal ...	6965.69	1,76,183-1-1	25-4-7	1,87,620-0-0	11,436-14-11
4	Punjaub ...	12509.76	1,60,592-12-0	12-13-3	1,57,516 0-0	3,076-12-0
5	N. W. Provinces ...	5109.57	1 49,117-9-9	29-2-11	1,50,096-0-0	973-6-3
14	Total for Season 1856-57 ...	24585.02	4,85,893-6-10	19-1 2-2	4,95,232 0-0	9,338-9-2
	Total for 1855-56 ...	18313.97	4,19,472-4-5	22-14-5	5,47,839-5-11	1,28,367-1-6
	Difference	6271.05	66,421-2 5	3-2-3	52,607-5-11	1,19,028-8-4
	Grand Total for 11 Seasons 1846-47	155170.45	35,23,436 4 2	22-11-4	40,18,217-15	64,94,781-11-4

Thus at a total cost of Rs. 35,23,436 has an area of 1,55,170 square miles been surveyed. This would give us an estimate very much higher than what Col. Waugh reckoned, but which nevertheless by the judicious will be thought very satisfactory. Major Thaillier has, by retrenchments, by the facilities for surveying afforded in Bengal by large areas of champaign country, and in the Punjaub by large tracts of uninhabited and waste forest lands, succeeded in shewing the pretty large figure of 4,94,781 Rs. as savings to Government. That this method of surveying is the best adopted, and the best which under circumstances could have been adopted, will scarcely in the face of these results be denied. That it must rank as one of the greatest works of public utility undertaken in India, bears the truth of its own impress. It is due to Lord Bentinck that we owe in a great measure the present plan and organization of the work. In 1823, when it was first in contemplation to undertake the work of Indian surveys, and to execute an atlas, which, on the scale of 4 miles to the inch, should form a complete topographical delineation of the country, Major Rennel, startled with the very extensive area which was to be brought under survey, suggested the cheap and comparatively rapid method of conducting the work on an astronomical



cal basis. The latitude and longitude of principal stations were to be determined by astronomical observations, and their relative positions correctly delineated: "the intervals were to be 'filled up' writes Major Rennel "by compass bearings, and by 'time employed as a means of distance (which habit will soon 'render familiar,) by triangles formed in a coarse way, where the 'country is favorable by furnishing natural marks, and by latitudes and longitudes finally made subsidiary to the observations 'above contemplated." Subsequently he seems to have discarded this opinion. More judicious, and sacrificing the quantity to the quality, Lord William Bentinck suggested a survey based on an accurate system of triangulation. In his minute on this subject he sketched with some precision the leading principles and the system of internal detail, on which an extensive survey should be conducted. Those views were eminently sound, practical and statesman-like; and stand out in strong relief from that narrow and economical policy which characterized the Government of Lord Ellenborough on the Ganges Canal question. There are some points which must redeem Indian Statesmanship from the slur of either unfitness or incapacity. That some acts have been characterized by an insouciant style of execution, and that the system of protocolling and delay has its inevitable evils, cannot be denied. Speedy measures are too often intended to dazzle as a coup de theatre, and want of mature deliberation in the undertaking of great national works of public utility, may too often be attended with consequences of very serious and permanent evil.

The United States of America afford us a recent illustration. It is incontestable that the cheap American Railway has signally proved a failure. Less permanent, and at commencement less expensive, than the system adopted in England and the Continent, it has been found by a careful and elaborate comparison that the cost for working and maintaining Railways in America, exceeds the cost for the same amount of mileage in England. Thus in nearly every department, wherein permanency, quality, and the future are sacrificed to quantity and the present, wherever the higher development of skill is undervalued, wherever a coup de theatre is intended, disastrous failure must be expected.

In India where the principle source of Revenue springs from land, and where endless disputes and litigations must arise from contested boundaries, a system of survey operations based on the principle of giving permanency to established rights, and the primary operations of which are directed conformably to the artificial boundaries of estates previously marked out and roughly surveyed, will perhaps be found to be better adapted for Indian

## THE REVENUE SURVEY.

requirements than any other system of which the operations might be made conformable with natural boundaries. These Estates, Mouzahs, or Mehals are often very extensive. A cluster of them are incorporated in a superior division, Pergunnah or Tuppal. The limits of these are generally bounded by the natural features of the country, a broad river, a narrow mountain torrent, or a range of hills: and it is with the boundaries of these Pergunnahs that the principal lines of operation, the main circuits of a Revenue Survey, are made to conform. Subsidiary to the main circuits are the boundaries of the villages comprized within the circuit. These have to be surveyed subsequently to the main circuit survey, the angular and linear measurements affording the data for plot, while simple deductions on the system of traverse, give the arithmetical areas of the land surveyed. The survey is conducted on the traverse system, or the system of computation by rectangular co-ordinates, and it is the simplicity of this system which enables extensive areas to be surveyed with rapidity, and the large out-turns of work we have noticed to be annually made. So well indeed and successfully had this system of periphery measurement, to use Major Thuillier's expression, been found to work, that in 1837 the Revenue Board N. W. P. suggested the scheme of doubling the establishment, and of obtaining a yearly out-turn of 3,000 square miles. The intervals between village boundaries are filled up with sketch surveys executed with the prismatic compass, or the plane table, on the plan of the Bavarian Cadastre. In these sketch maps are delineated every artificial as well as every physical feature which comes under survey, roads, rivers, tanks, temples, village sites, foot-paths; every feature which it would be useful to shew for military or political purposes; and even hills, local elevations, or subsidences may, with sufficient care, be delineated with an approach to accuracy and truth. In open and champaign country great accuracy in survey is necessary to shew the proportion of cultivation to waste or forest lands. In diversified or corrugated tracts, broken up by ravines, hills, or watersheds, and rivers, that minuteness of detail is scarcely necessary. It is, however, these prominent physical features which set off a map; and on the outlines of hills, and the depressions of water-courses, the utmost care in delineation is often bestowed. It is just these prominent physical reliefs of hills, table lands, spur, ridge, or furrow which lend to a plan its chief beauty; and a skilful draftsman, by proper care, by a judicious distribution of light or shade, by attention to the rules of shading, or by a skilful and artistic coup d'œil, may enable one to form a pretty accurate idea of the vertical height or depression of hills.

It is perhaps to be regretted that the scope of the Revenue Surveys should be so limited. They bear,

"A stamp exclusive and professional."

To define boundaries, and to give a correct topographical view of the country, appear to be their chief end. With this object the documents that are yearly furnished are a volume of congregated village maps on the scale of four inches to the mile; a compilation or Pergunnah map on the scale of one mile to the inch; a skeleton map of triangulation on four miles to the inch; and a reduced compilation map on the same minute scale. The statistical returns, derived from the Khusrā or native survey, and inserted in the Pergunnah volumes which accompany these documents, are meagre and unsatisfactory. The same remarks might be applied to the reports illustrative of the country. From the extracts which Major Thuillier makes, that conclusion is almost inevitable. In no one instance do any of those reports tend to illustrate the resources of the country. In one of the reports among other topics, the soil of Asneā in the lower Derajat is noticed as being "very remarkable; after the rains becoming very pulpy; harassing troops, and sometimes transfixing deer." In another the hills of Central India are dismissed with the brief notice that they "are thickly wooded, and in a state of nature."

A very severe or ill-natured critic would feel inclined to use the writers of descriptions so unique, and expressions so primitive, as severely as Euclio ever used Staphyla in the Aulularia. But alas! the sacredness of official correspondence; who shall attempt to disturb the dust, which must cover those sacred repositories and adyta, and which like the mysteries of the Bona Dea, must for ever be withheld from the profane gaze. Let it suffice to say that in the selections made from these reports by Major Thuillier, we have seen disappointed. We had hoped to have seen in them something relative to those interesting fields of undeveloped resources, the Punjaub and Central India; some remarks relative to the physical or moral organisms of the natives; their psychological character as affected by the nature of the physical influences which surround them; something too of the beneficial effects or otherwise of the introduction of our Revenue laws.

We had expected, too, some useful generalisations from the statistical data furnished. It is impossible to shew sufficiently the importance which must accrue from all statistical and collateral enquiries. It is perhaps an indication of the enlightenment of the times, that enquiries on this point should in England, France, and the Continent be prosecuted with so much eagerness. So deeply too the Court of Directors impressed with its importance that established a statistical office in their Home Department.

It was the keen appreciation of the weight to be attached to all statistical enquiries which distinguished the Government of Neckar from that of his predecessors, during the fervor of French innovation. It is the importance which the Historian of Europe has attached to every statistical detail which has given its only weight to his history. It is indeed by the combination of figures alone, that we are enabled to build broad generalisations or correctly to estimate the resources of nations.

At present a Revenue Survey party in India traverses large areas of land, measures entire provinces, and with the exception of furnishing the maps of those districts, perhaps a very little more accurate or elaborate than those which had been projected before, leaves no other trace of its advent. No series of leve's might enable the canal officer to form a pretty accurate idea of the irrigation requirements of his district.

A survey which costs at an average the large sum of fifty Rs. per mile, ought, we submit, to embrace more comprehensive features. Accurate and reliable information ought to be supplied by the surveyor on points of economic interest; on the sources of revenue, on the state of commerce, the manufactures and arts; on the state of transit and water communication; on the navigability of rivers, and the physical capabilities or facilities for irrigation. Nor would it be out of place to advert to the geological structure of the land, its subsoil, general appearance and capabilities, as well as its atmospheric and climatic conditions. Nor must it be thought that attention to points of this nature is misdirected. The simple record of the most simple facts collected by headmen, have in the hands of the architect enabled him to build up some of the loftiest generalisations or finest theories. It is to thermal agencies that the resultant effect of all that is peculiar in nature is mainly attributable. A correct acquaintance with the different temperatures of different places, enables one to form a pretty accurate idea of their palæontology. Every one knows that the date palm will not ripen under 70° Fahrenheit; and that the vine cannot be cultivated under 72°. That simple fact gave to Arago the clue to one of the most brilliant deductions of the present day; that within the historic period at the least there has been no appreciable decrease in the thermal agencies of this earth. Such are a few of the most salient points on which we had looked to for information, and as usual we have had to search for it out of the sacred pale of routine.

The map which Major Thuillier has appended to his report will shew approximately how much of the Punjab and the Sutlej States has been surveyed. Contemporaneously with

the Revenue Survey of these Provinces, the Trigonometrical Survey of the upper portion, embracing the Cashmeer Valley and the Jhelum and Peshawur divisions, had been carried on. A line drawn from Hurdwar on the Ganges, parallel with the base of the Great Himalayah range, excluding a small slip embracing the districts of Hoshiarpore, Sultanpore, and Kote Kangra, and terminating with the Pind Dadun Khan, and Chichalee range of nummulitic limestone hills, forms the demarcation between the two surveys. Four Revenue Survey parties have been employed on this interesting field. The results are satisfactory. Major Thuillier thus writes. "Whilst the surveys in the North West and Central Provinces may be said to be but commencing, and a wide field lies before us in different quarters; those in the Punjaub are very nearly drawing to a close, the Sindh Sagur Dooab and Derajat are alone occupied by our parties; the progress in the former is approaching a junction, near the Salt Range, with the topographical operations under the Surveyor General of India, and will perhaps be brought to a conclusion by the end of season 1858-59. The Derajat work is also rapidly advancing, but will occupy at least two seasons more." The maps of Shapore and Jhung, Major Thuillier reports, have been compiled: those of Khangur have been commenced; those of Goozerat and Googaira have been sent to the Press, as have also the maps of the five districts of the Lahore Division. This adds one more instance to the facility with which operations of every kind seem to be carried on in the Punjaub.

It is not alone in a political aspect that the Punjaub has been so pre-eminently distinguished from the other Provinces of India. It is not to the statesman alone that it proves interesting. To the antiquary, the geologist, the naturalist, it offers a useful field for research and discovery. The plains of the Hazara, the fields of the Sindh Sagur Dooab, Furwalla, the chain of the Kuranghi mountains, are as interesting from the ancient traditional legends associated with them, as Moodkee, Aliwal, Perozeshah and Goozerat from the memory of great and recent battles fought there. The monumental remains, the traces of sculpture, of architecture, of the arts, bear the impress of the Scytho-Grecian period. In those provinces where the successors of Alexander reigned, where the Pali and Bactrian languages were once spoken, where western civilization first dawned amidst the Erebus of Asiatic barbarism, there is very much left for antiquarian study. No ancient documents, no Greek history, no Pali record still extant, may be found to tell of times:—these the Mussulmans sedulously destroyed. But in coins, those broken tablets of history, and in the rough on stone, the surface history of that period may be

read. Those barbaric coins and rude etchings would serve as the connecting links between the past and present of Northern Indian history, and by taking us back through the long vista of very nearly twenty centuries, introduce us to the dark and fabled periods of Indian history from which very much of that chivalry which lives in its tradition and gives life to its legend, appears to have sprung. Those coins bearing mostly the impress of Vikramadytya, of Kadphises and of Ramchunder, the fabled Osiris, take us back to the times when, after the first shock of the Bactrian invasion, the two races, the Scytho-Greek and Asiatic, became intermixed, or introduce us to the wars of Sali Vahana and Vikramadytya; to the combats between the Rakuss and Ru-salo, typical, according to Major Abbot's theory, of the great contest between the rival and contemporaneous faiths of Christianity and Boodhism, which here first met on common ground; to the origin of the Rajpoots of Central India, and the Gukkurs of the Sindh Sagur Doab; to the first rise of that massive and stupendous form of superstition which overspread India from the Himmalayah to Ceylon, acknowledging like the Gnostics the existence of the one creative self-existent principle, Adi Budha—the Aion of the latter sect, from which all life and being emanated and to which they again ultimately tend; and to the first rise of the still darker faith of Thuggism. Thus too with its traditions and the traces of its ancient architecture. Like the coins found on the banks of the Indus and Jhelum bearing the impress of Basileus Basileôn, they too tell of the race which once ruled there, and of past greatness. How small the vestiges now of that greatness; how degenerate now the descendants of that once ennobled stock! And as those strong lights and shades of past greatness and evanescent kingdoms pass before the mind as in a drama, it turns from them with something of the same melancholy with which it might have viewed the shadowy procession of Banquo's descendants, in the magic caverns of the weird sisters.

To turn from the science which teaches us

“To mark of mighty things, the narrow grave”

it is not necessary to point to any very large portion of the Panjab to shew how intensely interesting must be the geological study of the country. Any small section will illustrate our position. Referring once again to the map which Major Thuillier appends, we shall take up the line of hills which is there shewn as the base of the area embraced in the topographical survey operations under the Surveyor General. That range in its geological character is of the most interesting nature. It forms a continuation Westward of the Sewalik range. Parallel with the base of the great Himmalayahs it traverses in a South Westerly direction all that extent

ed tract of country lying above the line of water-sheds, of the Punjaub, from the Sutledge to the Jhelum, where it forms the Khorian range; still maintaining its parallelism lower down it again protrudes in the Surasar hills. Across the Jhelum, the classical Hydaspes, it presents itself in the boldly scaped limestone range of the Salt formation, and in the Chichalee range. The interesting notices of Falconer and Cautley have made us acquainted with some features of their lithological character, whilst those of Mr. Flemming of a later date have introduced us to their geological nature. There is much however yet left to be done. So wide a field for research appears to us to have had as yet very few observers, and we should be very glad to receive even stray sheets from these interesting fields.

Turn we to Central India, and to Major Thuillier's report. Major Thuillier proposes to supply a long needed desideratum by an approximate map on the scale of eight miles to the inch, of this large tract of hitherto almost unexplored country. He thus states its wants and proposes its remedy. "The geography of Central India including Malwa, Meywar, Marwar, Jeypore, Joudpore and other Rajpootana and adjoining States being but little known, and no commonly correct maps being available, I have for several years past been engaged on a general compilation of the tract in question, on the eight mile to the inch scale, which I am happy to say has at length been completed and is now in the Press, undergoing transfer to the stone with all the rapidity possible. The map will embrace all the countries between the Cis-Sutlej States Frontier, and Kurnal in the North, and the Nerbudda river on the South, and from the meridian of Saugor including Sindhia's territory on the East, to the Sindh and Bombay Presidency Frontier on the West; and although a large portion of it is of necessity merely approximately correct, laid down prior to any regular survey, yet I have no doubt it will be found to supply a very great want, and serve a good purpose, pending the number of years which must elapse before all the native States can be surveyed."

Two survey parties have labored in this interesting field. One under the command of Captain Vanrenen, had their headquarters at Jubbulpore; the other, under the late Captain Blagrove, cantoned at Saugor. The surveys broke ground in the winter of 1855; and on the 1st June 1857 all field operations terminated owing to the Mutinies.

It would perhaps be interesting to trace the causes of mutiny in Central India. Major Thuillier's sketch of this critical period is very meagre and incidental. How it is that the agricultural masses, who form nearly the entire population of India,

should, after having enjoyed for nearly a century the blessings of good Government, have been found arrayed against order and law; how it is that a simple Military revolt should have merged into a national revolt; how it is that the entire machine of Government, recently so perfect and so entire, should in a few brief months have been so rapidly disorganized; how the Indian Empire should very nearly have been on the verge of a dissolution like that of 1707, must always prove an interesting problem. Nor does the question afford an easy solution. So confused have been the events, and so little plan or combination has been displayed, that the efforts everywhere, like the variegated threads in shot silk, have an ever glancing and changing aspect. Great events spring from trifles. Every one remembers Voltaire's sarcastic taunt. "The revolution which brought about the treaty of Utrecht, which displaced Marlborough, which changed the destinies of Europe for a time, might be traced to Mrs. Masham's anger, occasioned by the Duchess of Marlborough who accidentally overturned a cup of water on her brocade." That trenchant sarcasm contains much serious truth. The springs of great rebellions are too often found in the recesses of a few designing hearts; and originating in the purchases of the Palace of Delhi, the Indian Rebellion has been precipitated by that effete native aristocracy whom the almost prophetic pen of Napier described as the inveterate enemy to Anglo-Saxon progress, by a very large class of native officials, and by all that class of turbulent spirits who have nothing to lose and everything to gain by anarchy and confusion. The means were found in the weakness of the Army system.

We are aware that there is a tendency to ascribe to broad general principles the Indian Rebellion of 1857, and writers have not been wanting to bring forward the old truisms with regard to the motives of rebellion in India. Rebellions are caused by misgovernment;—the ruin or prosperity of a State depends upon the administration of its Government;—there is a limit to the endurance of the multitude, and when carried to excess, the fault is alone ascribable to the Government. Such are a few of the sophisms which have been brought to bear on the subject; and in Europe fusionists and abolitionists alike pointed to the dislike which the Asiatics evinced for the Anglo-Saxon rule. At a later period a small class pointed to the incubus of the land tax as the motive for disaffection.

It was not misgovernment that caused the Rebellion. In India where, amongst Indians, independence of thought is so seldom exercised, even granting that great and radical defects in our Civil Administration existed, we deny that they have had any part in causing the Rebellion. The fact of the existence of an



erroneous political system; of the dead weight of the Civil Service; of the annual deficit of two millions; of revenues wasted, might have existed and existed for ever, without producing any popular outburst of native feeling. Subjects like these are not generally canvassed by the natives.

It would perhaps be absurd to ascribe to the motives of rebellion in India the causes from which have sprung rebellion in free and civilized states. Terms which there have a significance are without meaning when applied to the apathetic race with whom we have had during two centuries to deal. The calm and philosophic mind of Burke might have traced, amidst the sudden effervescence and powerful passion for liberty; amidst the sweeping away of order, monarchy and religion; amidst the anarchy and terror, the unprecedented calamities and unparalleled crimes of the French Revolution, the march of a principle, of an idea, of a logical process of conviction. The Historian of Europe may have traced in the passions called forth in the wars of Clovis and Charlemagne, in the victories of Martel, in the Jacquerie rebellion, in the religious contests between the followers of Jansen and Molina, in the wars of Louis XIV., the embodiment of a lofty idea. In the Indian Rebellion we shall find alone abject passion developed. For the causes of that Rebellion we must turn to the evils of the Army system; to a fatal conciliatory policy towards native parvenus; to a stoical indifference to the condition of the masses; to a too great respect for Indian nationalities, caste, and religions; and to a too great confidence in the honesty of the native character. Something perhaps may be owing to the antagonism of race; something to the indifference which did not supply a sufficient number of European Regiments when it ordered Lord Dalhousie to annex Oude.

The disturbances in Central India formed an episode to the main action of events which occurred in the Upper Provinces. While those dark tragic scenes were in the North West being enacted with such wild recklessness; while fitful rumours were flying about the horrors at Cawnpore, the massacre at Jhansi, Hanai, and Hissar; while the personnel and staff of the Government of the North West, and the residents, were forced to seek protection in the Agra Fort; Rebellion might be said only to have grazed the Sangor and Nerbudda Territories.

The progress of Revolt is one of uncertainty. It is, to use an expression which Macaulay has lent us, like treading on the fine crust of ashes beneath which the lava fiercely burns. No Anglo-Saxon in a station where a Bengal Corps was located could feel himself safe. A single spark might inflame that huge mass of combustible matter which would unsettle provinces. It is no wonder then that the pulse of public feeling in every station in

Upper and Central India should have vibrated with an irregularity which almost defied description. Wherever a Bengal Regiment was located; wherever a spirit of mutiny manifested itself within a hundred miles; there suspicion was the evil genius which seemed to mark the station for its own. Alarmists gave the cry, and people ran with eagerness to defend the first brick house into which provisions could be thrown. It is no wonder then that in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories public feeling during those critical months should have undergone, to use a metaphor borrowed from toy-shops, all the diverting oscillations of a tombola; and that the residents of Saugor should have thrown themselves into the Fort and those of Jubbulpore into the Agency. The arrival of the Kamptec Moveable Column at Jubbulpore on the 19th August 1857, and the secession of the 52nd B. N. I. who left the treasure and spare stand of arms untouched, relieved the residents of this station from the incubus of fear. It was not till a later period that the Saugor garrison was relieved.

In consequence of these events, and on the representation of Major Erskine to the Government, all survey operations in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories were discontinued; and the two surveys transferred to the Nagpore Province. The out-turn of work appears to have been satisfactory. The charges were higher than those of the North West, and very much higher than those of the Punjab surveys. The high charges may perhaps be attributable to the difficult nature of the country which had to be surveyed, and to the large employment of coolie labor which had to be impressed. Of the physical nature of the Nerbudda basin, of its geological and accidental features, a great deal has been recently written.

Not three years ago the brothers Schlagintweit paid a visit to that interesting country. The short memoir of the geological character of the country published by them is both interesting and useful. In the same field had labored Dr. Spry, Captain Coulthard, and Dr. Spilsbury. We have before us Mr. Oldham's Geological Structures, and some stray shots, illustrative of a portion of its physical features, contributed by Mr. Clive to the *Engineer's Journal*. We shall make no apology for adverting to these, as both Mr. Oldham's memoir and Mr. Clive's notes illustrate that portion of country embraced in the Revenue Survey operations of this Province.

Travelling in India has not yet been exhausted of its interest. There are many parts of the continent which are yet perfectly unknown. Narratives of travels in India such as those which Humboldt and Livingstone, Captain Basil Hall and Franklin, have given us of the countries they visited; such as those which must

rank with the standard works of this description, we have as yet but few of. Many parts of India are yet but a terra incognita. Nevertheless in its vast fields a few observers have occasionally labored; and the names of Voysey, Malcolmson, Hislop and Carter, will perhaps stand out in relief from the sombre back-ground of callous indifference which has been displayed by Europeans in India. Valuable as their contributions are to geological science, they do not sufficiently illustrate the physical character of the country. What we require are works of travels which would illustrate the country, which would afford descriptive vignettes of Indian scenery, as well as correct daguerreotypes of Indian manners and customs. How few books are there which do give us a correct description of the country, or of particular sections of it, such as they are. Sir Alexander Burnes and Dr. Hooker, Heber and Sleeman, have indeed left interesting notices of the countries through which they passed. But how vast a field for research and observation yet lies before us.

In India every physical feature is colossal. Its shady groves, its vast plains, its high hills, its broad rivers, its dense jungles, its vast solitudes, its magnificent water-falls, require a genius commensurate with them to understand it. Perhaps that melancholy genius of Chateaubriand which loved to identify itself with vast solitudes, which was never so much at home, as when in the simple garb of the *énigme* he found himself associated with the backwoods of America or the falls of Niagara, is best fitted to rightly understand and give expression to its vastness and sublimity.

Where there has never been much accuracy of information, there will always be a tendency to exaggerate or depreciate. According to the different leanings of partiality or prejudice, vanity or ignorance too easily dazzled will either accord too much or yield too little. The patriot Roman flattered himself into the belief that the provinces which comprised the Roman Empire, extended to every portion of the known globe. The patriot Hindoo believed that Mount Meru occupied the centre of the earth, that its sides were studded with precious stones, gems and rubies, that it was surrounded by concentric belts or circles of land divided from each other by seas of wine, milk and sugar, and that its summits afforded a terrestrial paradise to the traveler who was so fortunate as to attain to it.

The vivid and interesting accounts given by Campbell and Sherwill of the approaches to those massive elevations which lie beyond Darjeeling, are scarcely inferior in their attractive novelty to those which Mr. Albert Smith and Mr. George Barnard have given us of their passage Overland or over les Grandes *lules*. In a geological view, every variety of formation from

the primary to the tertiary are here exposed in its naked landslips, in its pine clad valleys, or among its less elevated, sombre, scragged, and furrowed spurs. From that unbroken line of glaciers amidst the regions of perpetual snow, the most stupendous hills and the most striking mountains, whether for the impressiveness of their character, ruggedness of outline, or the startling and abrupt grandeur of their pinnacled and castellated forms, stand out in relief against azure and fathomless skies. Lower down amongst its furrows or elevated valleys, amidst dense solitudes unbroken by any sounds except by the booming, hissing and thundering of some rolling avalanche, flourish in primeval silence giant forests of verdurous pine. Scenes more rugged than Salvator Rosa dashed, or more ethereal than any over which the pencils of Horace Vernet or Claude Lorraine ever flung the soft radiance of a winter's sun, are there to be found.

Nor does our estimation of the Indian Empire lessen when we become statistically acquainted with it. The following figures from an official report laid before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1831, will give us an accurate idea of its dimensions, and population.

	Sq. Miles.	Population.
Bengal Lower Provinces, ...	153,862	37,500,000
Bengal Upper Provinces, ...	66,510	32,200,000
Bengal Cessions from Berar, ...	85,700	3,200,000
<b>Total Bengal,</b> ...	<b>306,012</b>	<b>72,900,000</b>
Madras, ...	141,923	13,500,000
Bombay, ...	64,938	6,800,000
<b>Total British possessions,</b> ...	<b>512,873</b>	<b>93,200,000</b>
* Allied States, ...	614,610	43,022,700
Punjaub, ...	60,000	3,500,000
Sind, ...	100,000	1,000,000
<b>Total of all India,</b> ...	<b>1,287,483</b>	<b>140,722,700</b>

A cursory glance at the map of Europe will shew that the surface area of India is very nearly as large as the surface area of that continent, if we take from it the Northern wastes of Russia. The population is however one-sixth less. Of these large divisions, the political division of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories extends over an area of only 30,000 square miles, in the Bengal Cessions from Berar. The population may be fixed at forty to the square mile.

Mr. Oldham's geological survey embraces the upper portion of the Nerbudda basin. Mr. Clive's descriptive sketch will furnish us with an outline of its physical features. The Hills form

the most prominent feature of this portion of the Nerbudda basin. Two ranges running parallel to each other, bearing distinctive names, and presenting striking but essentially different physical contours, subside in a partially synclinal descent, if we may be allowed the expression, into the Nerbudda valley. To the North, forming the Southern boundary of Upper or Gangetic Hindostan, is the Vindhyan range. This range runs through the whole of Central India, from the deserts of Goozerat to the Ganges: supported on one side by the elevated table and high plateaus of Bundelkhund, and on the other abutting in well defined though separate and detached hills on the Nerbudda river. It lies between the parallels of 23 and 25' North latitude. To the South is the chain of the Satpooras, supported by the Koraie table land, and the Sanjee hills. Between these parallel ranges flows the Nerbudda river.

In the high elevations of Amerkuntuck very nearly 5000 feet above the sea level, in jungles where a deadly miasma arises, this river takes its rise. It rises from a swamp held sacred by the natives; then unwinds itself among the hills and flows over basaltic channels, and through chasms which it forces through the rocks. Lower down it assumes all the impetuosity of a mountain torrent: turbid, tumultuous, brawling, dashing over rocks of basaltic or dolomitic marble, or granite; it flings its waters in cascades of the most brilliant jet d'eaux, or widens out into most lovely reaches and crystal pools. Fed by the numerous streams which take their rise from the hills alluded to, it acquires a larger volume, and after forming the falls of Mandla, the cascades of Mundhar, and the rapids of the Heronpall and Mookree, it debouches into the Indian Ocean. The precipitate character, and the abrupt nature of its rocky banks covered with thick, and in many places impenetrable, jungle, give an air of the picturesque to this stream.

The three principal groups of Bundair, Kymore and Rowah, form the Vindhyan range North of the Nerbudda. The general lithological character of these hills is sandstone, shale and limestone. Mr. Clive sketches the Kymore and Bundair ranges in the vicinity of Jubbulpore.

"In order to give, in the absence of any sketch map, an idea of these hills, it would perhaps be necessary to give in detail the direction which they take up. Their line of direction and more specially of those of igneous origin is from West to East. The first of the group which deserves mention is the Kymore Scar or Range. It is a continuation Westward of that Anticlinal range which extends itself in an Easterly direction, through nearly the whole length of Zillah Jubbulpore, passing through Pargunnahs Herapore, Patun, Kuttungee, Mujhowhe and Bhowribun, and which, from their prominent peaks and rugged outlines, have been made out both by the great Trigonometrical and Revenue Surveys for trian

These rocks are principally sandstone. The Kymore Scar in Pergunnah Herapore extends along the North banks of the Heron, from Amerkho to a short distance of the hills near the village of Herapore. It is entirely barren of vegetation except at its foot. The debris and fragments of stone which have peeled off from some disrupting force or the action of the atmosphere, are immense, some of them exceeding a thousand tons. Along this line of hills are the sites of some of the ancient villages of Gondwana, and on the table land to the North, not far from Herapore, traces of dilapidated fortifications may still be seen by the curious traveller or enquiring native pedestrian. These hills form a cul de sac or valley, with the great table land of the Bundair to the North, from which they are separated by deep intervening strata.

To the South, and nearly at its foot, flows the Heron. From the summit of this hill one can look down between the high banks and deeply wooded glens through which the river flows, on the crystal water of the stream itself: a lovely cascade formed by a single fall of a few feet deep, which sends the stream onward, no longer chattering 'in little sharps and trebles', but with all the impetuosity of a turbid mountain torrent affording very fine morceaux of hill and river scenery. The North face of these hills presents a more precipitous appearance than the South, the dark masses of rock having scarcely a particle of clay; but on the South, where the angle of inclination is something more than  $45^{\circ}$ , there is a tough ferruginous clay formed by the disintegration of quartz sandstone and trap, which affords support to the many large trees which have sprung up on this fall. The soil between this range and the table land is the black cotton, which yields rich crops of gram and wheat.

The escarpment of the table land of the Bundair runs in a North Westerly direction. On the West towards Dumoh there is a gradual synclinal descent towards the plains. On the East towards the large village of Kuttungee, it comes to an abrupt and somewhat unexpected termination. The scarped sides are heavy and rounded, and the transverse fissures and gorges, thickly wooded and denuded of their associated alluvium by the hill torrents to which they give a passage, break the sameness and vary the appearance of the hills. The fluvial action of these streams has broken up the country at the foot of the table, and given it an indented appearance; while their degrading and transporting force, (the velocity of many during the rains, so far as a mile from the dip of the table, exceeding 36 inches per second,) is such as to remove large masses of clay, marl, and boulder from the hills, and to deposit them below. The general level of this table land varies from 1,500 to 2,500

feet above the sea. The G. T. Station of Kuloomer is the highest point on the table. It stands in latitude  $23^{\circ} 27' 52''$ , longitude  $79^{\circ} 46' 51''$ . This forms a description of but a small section of these hills. That section may however be taken to represent the two groups. The lithological character of the Kymore is sandstone with associated beds of arenaceous shales. That of the Bundair is thus characterized. "The substratum of the table land appears to be gneiss sometimes merging into granite. It is overlaid by red sandstone, with its limestones, shales, clays, and conglomerates." The Rewah groups are limestone, shales, and sandstone.

It is amongst the groups of the Vindhyan range that the sandstone formation of Central India is most fully developed: and no question can be more interesting than that which relates to the geological age of this formation. It has been left unanswered. Mr. Oldham remarks "that the general physical relation of the rocks should be determined, and the several groups established, on such evidence derived from the actual arrangement and sequence of the rocks, rather than from some fancied or imperfectly established analogies, derived from partially collected or partially examined organic remains." This simply waives the difficulty. It is indeed seldom that any formation is any where found so fully developed as to allow of its being identified *primâ facie* with the system to which it belongs. No series are found so well defined as to enable us to classify them at sight. It is careful observation and research that must supply the desiderata, and an imperfect or partial examination may too often be inconclusive or fallacious.

Even those formations which in the British Isles are the most completely developed, must at first have been associated with the same indefinitiveness of character. The old red sandstone of European geologists will answer as an illustration. Scarcely any group has been so fully developed or clearly identified. The plant impressions, berries, ferns, leaves and equisetaceæ are distinct. So are all its fossil ichthyolites. Yet distinct as these are, and presenting as they do clearly marked traces of a new organism, it requires the minutest observation to distinguish their peculiarities. The Silurian series of Sir R. J. Murchison fades imperceptibly into the Grauwacke system which underlies it. The pterichthys of the old red sandstone, is but a little more advanced than the simpler asaphus of the Silurian: and often while the sub-medial red sandstone of the series may only be represented by a few indistinct arenaceous beds; no well defined series corresponding to the superior strata may be discoverable at all.

To the South of the Nerbudda the Mahadewa hills rise to the height of nearly 5000 feet. The upper sandstones which form

the mass of these groups have been generally referred to the Jurassic period. Careful and varied observations have however led Mr. Hislop, who appears to have made these groups his study, to refer them to a more recent period. The coarse arenaceous beds reticulated with ferruginous bands, he was led to class among the upper members of the cretaceous series, while the underlying beds appeared to be a transition between the Lias and Jura formations. In Mr. Oldham's Memoir the geological age of this group is described as unknown, a few vegetable and fossil stems alone being found.

Below the sandstone formations of the Nerbudda basin are the gneiss and mica schist series. These occur to the South of the sandstone groups, and may be considered as an offshoot from the Vindhyan groups. It is here that the abrupt and the picturesque are chiefly to be found. "A line drawn through the village of Seinpooora in lat.  $24^{\circ}0'-11''$  in the direction of Koombi, South, marks the change from the carboniferous systems of the red sandstone and its associated trap, to the schistose and crystalline formations. We are no longer amongst rocks of the secondary formation; we have left the transition with its red sandstone and limestones far behind. Outcrops of gneiss and beds of finely laminated mica schist, give evidence of our treading on primary rocks. The soil from the comparatively loosely aggregated black cotton has changed into a very compact and hard clay marl. Foliated chlorite slate of a dark green or olive colour, protrudes above the soil, and granite of a highly crystalline character is not unfrequently found outlying. The Biltec hills are in Pergunnah Koombi. They form a semi-circle, running in a North Easterly direction. These hills are nearly all schistose, gneiss forming the lower while mica schist forms the upper strata. Those who delight in the picturesque of hill and dale scenery, and would look for it amongst the hills of this basin of the Nerbudda Valley, must find it amongst the abrupt declivities, deep fissures transverse gorges, and thickly wooded glens of this range. It is amongst the gneiss and mica schist formations that much of the wild and the abrupt in nature occurs. Hills rise in every direction. Thrown together in groups, or rising one above another, they resemble the tiers in a tertiary formation. \* \* \* The granite in this locality varies from a highly crystalline, to a loosely aggregated siliceous rock of quartz and felspar. Nowhere does it appear that these rocks are made use of by the natives. Outcrops of slate and gneiss very little weather-worn, or blackened, present an appearance the most interesting from their very novelty. The villager regards them as an incum-



brance."\* For these groups Mr. Oldham has adopted the name of Sub-Kymore.

The provisional classification of the formations of the Vindhyan range into series bearing the local name of the groups themselves, has a tendency to overburthen the multiplicity of a nomenclature already too large, and to establish a brother nomenclature for the Indian formations. Like chemistry, like botany, like almost every other empirical science, geology has suffered from a rage for nomenclature. Before a sufficient collection of facts can be made, and a basis obtained for a systematic and scientific classification, before general terms can acquire a universal and acknowledged circulation, these sciences must necessarily suffer from an evil of this nature. And that they must suffer is self-evident, so many are the species presented which have to be named. Botany presents 100,000 species of plants. The chemist from fifty elements by a varied combination reproduces a thousand others which require to be named. Thus too in geology. From the time of Werner to that of Sir R. J. Murchison, every new writer commences by making a *tabula rasa* of previous nomenclature.

The geological survey under Mr. Oldham is isolated from the other surveys. It would appear that there is at present no connection between this and the Revenue Survey. Where so many kindred departments are employed in the same field, there ought to be an effort to give unity to their isolated labors. Sciences of a kindred nature assist each other. It was not until meteorology was applied to marine geography, that its utility was acknowledged; not till then were the isolated observations of a few savants rendered available for the purposes of science; not till then could Lieutenant Maury have published his useful charts and directions, which have proved such valuable helps to nautical science, and have shortened distances by something more than a fourth of their time.

Professor Oldham, or Mr. Medlicott, or any other geological surveyor, at present makes a rapid detour over the country, and publishes a memoir very brief, and very scanty, of the classification of rocks, their geological eras, and the distribution of pristine organic life among the strata, without those auxiliaries of physical illustration which a topographical map on a large scale would afford. The assistants of Major Thuillier furnish maps on the scale of 1 mile to the inch, very artistical perhaps in their appearance, in which every feature, from the surface configuration of hills to the reticulations of watersheds and streams, is delineated, and every acre of ground measured; but which can give no idea

\* Engineer's Journal: Vol. I, p. 115.

of strata, sub-soil, or superficial accumulations. Nor can other results be expected so long as there is no co-operation between the departments. The rapidity of execution of the geological survey is incompatible with that minuteness of observation so essentially necessary to geological research. The intimate acquaintance with the country surveyed, is at present turned to no secondary or useful account by the assistants of Major Thuillier.

The Vindhyan hills of the Nerbudda basin are for the most part covered with rank and impervious jungles. It is principally amongst sandstone and its allied carboniferous rocks that vegetation attains to its most prolific growth. No contrast in physical appearance can be greater than that presented by tracts where sandstone and trappean rocks alternately protrude. It is amongst the sandstone series of Merdanghur, Singorgurh and Bhyronghat, that those interminable jungles of low, tangled brushwood and other trees, are to be found, which give to this portion of the Nerbudda country the character of wildness for which it has been famed.

The trap rocks in the vicinity of Saugor are as sterile and as desolate as trap rocks are known to be all over the world, wherever they occur, whether among the wilds of Lanark and Ayrshire or amidst the steppes of Central India. The character of the jungle which covers the sandstone hills of the Bundair and Kymore, appears to be the same with that of the Kurruckpore and Khasia hills. Not to speak of the catechu, resins and dyes, which these interminable underwood forests afford in large and perhaps inexhaustible quantities, in the absence of coal the wood which they yield may extensively be employed as charcoal on our railway works.

Amongst the economic products of the Nerbudda valley must not be forgotten its extensive and inexhaustible fields of Iron. From Jubbulpore to the Nagode table land, and far beyond the Nagode table land to the vicinity of Bundelkhund, the red color of the soil from the peroxide of iron it contains, gives evidence of the existence of the ore in large quantities. "On the banks of the Weingunga," writes Mr. Hisslop, "there are illimitable fields of iron ore which all the railroads in all the world will not exhaust." The remark may with equal truth be applied to the Nerbudda territories.

According to the latest computation the Revenue derived from the Saugor and Nerbudda territories is 59,80,000 Rs. This sum, which is double of that which the South Mahratta country and Tenasserim coast together yield, is irrespective of any system of artificial irrigation, and of its great but hitherto unworked staple of wealth—its mines of iron. By a simpler and more effective method of manufacturing iron, and the intervention

of European agency and skill, the iron-producing mines of Central India would give a considerably larger out-turn of profit than they do at present. By means of an extended system of artificial irrigation the Revenue would be quadrupled. A single chudder, or map of congregated village plans, will give us a pretty accurate idea of the country. The Nerbudda country is reticulated with water-courses, streams and Nuddees. A very simple expedient at a minimum of expense would tend to develop the resources of the country, by laying hold of the natural facilities for artificial irrigation which these streams afford. By means of revetments they could be made capable of holding a volume of water sufficient for all irrigation purposes. Those who are acquainted with the system of irrigation in Southern India, will not be at a loss to know how easy it would be to introduce it into territories where the same facilities are afforded. A single embankment across the bed of the stream would retain the water. In order to provide for the outflow a tank so excavated might be made to receive the surplus; and the embankments should be provided with outlets to irrigate the fields.

In the absence of an extended system of artificial irrigation, such as has been developed in Northern India, with its costly water ways, escarpment dams, inlets for minor drainage, locks, navigable channels, and Rajbahas or irrigation channels, the less expensive Colabah system may be introduced. Simple water cuts taking in the hill drainage may at first be tried, and the management under the superintendence of local officers be entrusted to private associations of individuals or villagers. Rude as these beginnings are, the earnest which they must give of future increased good, will, it is to be hoped, form the introduction to more scientific undertakings. The advantages which must accrue from a rude system of irrigation, taking into consideration the smallness of the capital invested, will bear no proportion to the profits which are annually derived from a work of a more scientific character like the Ganges Canal, costly even as the capital has been which has been invested in that gigantic undertaking. A few facts will illustrate this. The Ganges Canal is 890 miles in length; estimating the volume of its discharge at 6,750 cubic feet per second it will irrigate an area of 4,500,000 acres. The annual returns of water rents and transit duties have been found to amount to nearly £145,000, and subtracting from it £40,000, a year, the cost for maintenance, the Government derive a return of 7 per cent. clear profit.

Poor as the peasantry are all over India, the social degradation and abject penury of the peasantry of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories are even greater than the average degra-

dation of the peasantry in other parts. The peasantry of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories are poor, because enterprise and invention, and all those arts which obtain a mastery over physical obstructions, have never been theirs; poor, because from time immemorial they have been oppressed by the proprietary; because they have been so by habit and custom; because the strong cast iron pressure of want, will not for a single moment allow them to look beyond the present.

Mr. Clive sketches their social status :—

"It is a contrast, and we do it with some reluctance, to turn from the aspect of the country to the degraded state and abject social position of the Gond peasantry. It is, to use a fine metaphor of Burke, the single black cloud which darkens the horizon. The population of the Nerbudda districts is of a somewhat mixed nature. It averages according to a recent computation 40 to the square mile; and comprizes three principal classes of Hindoos, Moosulmen, and Gonds. The Gond is a degraded being. What the Allophylian races were to the Arian; what an Augamee Indian is to a Bengalee, the Gond is to his Hindoo brethren who dwell with him in the same village and plough with him in the same field.

Between the men of the plains and the men who are accustomed to furrow amongst rocks, there is and must be a very conceivable difference. Wherever there is a great scarcity of food, wherever there is a total abnegation of personal wants and animal comforts, there must be a degradation of the species. It is so in the case of the Gond. Social degradation and personal wants alike tend to debase him. Isolated from the rest by his religion, his manners, his appearance, and his habits, he is often left to his own individual exertions and unaided efforts.

Our physical as well as psychological nature is subjected to laws as invariable as those which have produced, in unerring order, the different strata of the earth's crust; as those which have fixed for ever trilobites in one, and Saurians in another. A long period of sustained misery will perhaps alter sensibly the delineations of the human form and contour; and the stunted race who have long had their home among the great Vindhyan range, with spare forms, low foreheads, sharp quick eyes, and dark complexions, will perhaps find a prototype in the small built sturdy tribes of many hilly countries. It may not perhaps be generally remarked, that there is a sensible decrease in the Gond population. A single season of scarcity will be marked by the disappearance of a hundred Gond families. Gond villages amidst the solitudes of hills, or in the centres of jungles, will be entirely depopulated. Perhaps a few lingering families in some will be alone left to tell the tale of so universal a desertion. Existence can but ill be supported by the uncertain sustenance which the wood-apple can afford; and where death does not remove its victims, the hope of finding employment at the hands of their wealthier neighbours, will induce, during these rugged seasons, whole families to emigrate to the plains. Perhaps a closer contact with the Hindoo, will tend to assimilate the character of the Gond with that of his; but it would not perhaps be too much to assert, that this peculiarly abnormal race, with a physical appearance and manners so striking as to have invested them with a degree of the marvellous, will in time disappear. They will perhaps come to be regarded with a degree of interest which is now attached to a batrachian reptile, a mastodon, or megatherium, ~~one~~ of those pachydermata, which serve to mark the difference of eras between the tertiary formation and our modern epoch."

Two causes have, perhaps more than any others, tended to perpetuate that state of abject, social and moral degradation, so characteristic of the Indian masses. The great mass of the Indian population are agriculturists. The prosperity of the masses has been in inverse ratio to the preponderance of the agricultural over the manufactural systems. Everywhere it has been the agricultural classes who have been most depressed. Amidst the steppes of Asia or the northern wastes of Russia, the condition of the agricultural masses has been depressed below that of the pastoral tribes, and considerably below that of the mechanic and manufacturing classes. The independence of action, that robust and manly strength which is developed amidst the equality and energy of pastoral life, those artificial wants which spring from increasing wealth and which incite to fresh efforts, are wanting to a people tied down by a life-long labor to the soil which they cultivate. The smallness of the proportion of large cities to the vast extent of territory in India, is another cause which has produced that state of political nullity so characteristic of the Indian masses. That concentration of strength by political union, that combination against oppression and violence, and that free interchange of ideas which a moral population enjoy, are wanting amongst classes attached to the soil, and limited from want of communication in their thoughts, ideas, and aspirations. Nor even in the present century have these difficulties been removed to any very large degree by the facilities afforded to travelling by the multiplication of roads. A chapperbund ryot rarely has the opportunity or the inclination to visit a village twenty miles away: and it is only as witnesses under the strong compulsion of law that a small percentage are sometimes dragged to a Sudder Station. It is no wonder then, with this feature of isolation so strongly marked in the social life of the Indian masses, that their material existence should present no traces of progressive civilization: that the Indian peasantry under the British administration should be as much immersed in social and political degradation as the Indian peasantry under the administration of Akbar, or under the rule of Menu; or that several large sections of this interesting peninsula should be as undeveloped in their resources, as wild and as unreclaimed, as those savage lands in Guiana described by Buffon in his animated and philosophical "*Epoques de la Nature*." When the surveys of Central India shall have been completed, and public works, roads, railways, and telegraphic communication introduced, it is to be hoped that the material life and moral condition of the Indian peasantry will be considerably improved.

It is not with the rapidity of months, but with the slow re-

volution of cycles that those gradual though unerring changes are effected which act upon the material existence of a people, which remove ancient evils, and raise on the mouldering and crumbling ruins of ancient servitude or superstition a superstructure of a fresh and buoyant life. It was not in a day that the ancient structure of prædial servitude and mediæval feudalism crumbled away. The freedom of Rome was struck out from the sparks of a contest which lasted for seven centuries. It has been only in our own day that the Russian serf has been emancipated; and eighteen years have been fixed as a period not too long to serve as an apprenticeship to freedom. History lends us two parallels at least within the memory of living men to shew how a too speedy emancipation may be followed by evils of which philanthropists never dreamed; evils in their momentary effects far worse than the permanent evils of serfdom or servitude. The sudden enfranchisement of St. Domingo and Hayti reduced those colonies to the depths of wretchedness and misery. While French democrats might have dreamed of building on the ruins of ancient aristocracy the edifice of a liberal democracy, experience taught the thinking few, that however facile it might have been to destroy, to reconstruct required at least half a century.

Consisting, as the material of a Revenue Survey does, of men who are expected to possess professional abilities and to pass a scientific examination, it is perhaps matter of regret that they are not adequately paid. While the standard of examination for the surveys is very nearly the same as that for the Engineering Department, and while the duties are perhaps equally arduous, both the status and salary of the Surveyor are lower than that of the Executive or Engineer Officer. In a Revenue Survey the Revenue Surveyor is perhaps the only one well paid, and even that functionary has not the opportunity of rising eventually so high as officers of the same standing and professional abilities in other departments.

Staff officers are very effective, but it should not be forgotten that it is the European Uncovenanted Assistants who constitute the executive, survey the circuits, put off the traverses, lay down the bearings, triangulate the country, and manipulate the maps. They are depressed in the department. It excites no surprise to find that the department maintains no proper esprit de corps, or that the best men leave, and others who are perhaps less exceptional are obliged to be entered. Not until an exposé of the real difficulties with which the Surveyor and Civil Engineer in India have to contend, has been made, will a reform in the organization of these departments be effected.

However arduous in India the life of the Civil Engineer or Surveyor may be, he still has something to compensate for the trying difficulties he has to encounter, the malaria he has to brave, the risks of sudden coup de soleil, or the more insidious though not less fatal fever—the genius loci of the forests he surveys, in the fresh, buoyant, tiger-shooting, hyæna-hunting life of the districts. Not unfrequently he finds relief from the monotony of a life which must be otherwise uniformly dull. “We well remember the sense of keen enjoyment we experienced when we found ourselves encamped on the Bhyronghat spur of the Bhandair table land. A deep valley separated us from the Kymore Scar. At its foot tumbled the Heron, a mountain stream, wild, boisterous, noisy, now gliding with a deceitful smoothness, now tumbling and foaming and dashing over the rocks. The evening was delightfully mild. The sun had set, the skies to the North were brilliantly illuminated. Against a burning background of golden red stood out in bold and beautiful relief clouds of glorious hue. The warm tints of the West harmonized with the rich colors, which seemed to have taken their reflex from the sun, and where a glimpse of the blue distance could be obtained, might be seen the soft and undefined pencilings of tree and village, such as we see them in Baxter’s inimitable oil colourings, blending and fading away imperceptibly into the very skies. On the Kymore Scar stood a temple, and a pale yellow reflection served to throw it out into relief from the dark and sombre masses of rock on the summit of which it had been built.”\*

In the winter months with the thermometer at 72° Fah. camp life in the district in many provinces of India is bearable; in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories and in the North West it must be positively pleasant. There are many spots which must gratify the lover of the picturesque among those wild hills which overhang the Nerbudda, which run through the whole extent of Gondwana, and form part of that great range of the Vindhyan which traverses India from West to East. There are, too, many ancient legends floating about this part of India. The valley of the Nerbudda is the classic ground of the Hindoos. On its plains where the

“Hunter of deer, and the warrior tread,”

may still be seen monuments of historic or legendary interest. To the mineralogist as well as the lover of the wild and the beautiful in nature, to the Surveyor as well as the Civil Engineer, the Nerbudda basin will always form an interesting study.

\* Engineer’s Journal : Vol. 1, p. 239.

Whether amongst the ruins of Mundla or the groves of Bhilsa, whether making fossil collections among the rocks which abut on the banks of this wild stream, or indulging in a quiet 'cœnobitical symposion' on the banks of some wooded torrent, or last, not least, tracking the wild deer and peafowl amongst its wooded and shelving banks, there is something to gratify that craving for roaming so strongly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon in India.

Fancy may lend us a sketch of the Surveyor's enjoyment of physical beauty in the pleasant months of December and January. He is encamped on an eminence or gently rising ground. Tall, branching and shady trees—the *Ficus Religiosa* of the Indians, making a 'pillared shade,' intertwine their branches over his tent. From that eminence he can see the entire country which surrounds him, broken into undulations, green fields, thickly wooded glens, streamlets, and in the distance blue reliefs of hills. To the East where the headland abuts, is a pretty little lagoon or lake receiving the waters which rill from the elevations. That lake mirroring the bright sky, with its purple clouds and varied tints, is indeed refreshing, and while sunshine and shade course each other freely along the green grass, and the little ripples laugh up in the parting light of the sun, he might indulge in reveries; and with that bright and gorgeous tapestry of clouds above, dream visions as brilliant and as fading, to be swept away by the cold and startling chill of twilight. The stirring and active life of the Surveyor will not allow his indulging often in the "*dolce far niente*;" and even the recollection of a momentary pleasure of this nature becomes obliterated when he has to 'battle stour' with the coming asperities of the dry and hot months.

In April the Surveyor's camp presents a very strong contrast to his camp in January. The thermometer stands at 9 P. M. at 96° Fah. That which makes camp life so delightful in the winter months ceases to be one of the principal elements of attraction in the dry, parched months. Scenery, who cares for it now? The trees no longer look spirituelle. The hills no longer stand out in blue relief from the skies. The last nebulous cloud that tessalated the heavens has passed away, giving place to the dull and grey sky of a summer day. In the evening, the only time he can devote to reading and writing, he finds himself tortured by mosquitoes, embryo beetles, ephemeral moths. These thick as summer leaves come flocking in, and like Laplace's planetary atmosphere, form concentric circles of varying densities round his tent lamps.

The Surveyor's life in India is not one of romance. Slightly parodying the border motto of the clan of Macfarlane, his gene-



ral routine work may be pourtrayed in a few epigrammatical lines.

"We are bound to take our angles,  
All by hollows hoists and hillocks,  
Through the sun and through the rain,  
When the heat is baking dry  
Hills and trees and parched up lakes,  
Bold and heartily we hic.  
For very little gain."

- ART. II.—1. *Tales*. By MISS EDGEWORTH.
2. *Gurney Married*. By THEODORE HOOK.
3. *Guy Mannering. The Surgeon's Daughter*. By SIR WALTER SCOTT.
4. LORD MACAULAY'S *Essays*: "*Clive*," and "*Warren Hastings*."
5. *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son*. By CHARLES DICKENS.
6. *Vanity Fair. Pendennis. The Newcomes*. By W. M. THACKERAY.
7. *Speeches at the Meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*. By the BISHOPS OF LONDON AND OXFORD. London: 1857.
8. *Sermon on the Evangelization of India; Preached before the University of Oxford*. By the REV. G. CURTEIS, M. A. London: Parker. 1857.

THE list over which the reader has just cast his eye comprises specimens of English authorship in very various walks; they are brought together in reference to the subject expressed by the title of this Paper. Whatever amount of censure may attach to the practice of our home contemporaries, whereby a number of books are cited at the head of an Article, which, with an *apropos des bottes*, runs on for twenty or thirty pages, at the critic's own sweet will; we never profess to confine the scope of this *Review* to mere notices of new books. Not only is the number of Indian publications wholly inadequate, but our pages are needed for something else. In the general paralysis of Indian literature have been involved, soon or late, nearly all attempts to carry on serial works, whose importance should be derived from Essays of a general nature, in which topics of current literature were to be fully examined from a political standpoint. But this is the position which the *Calcutta Review* has occupied without interruption for some sixteen years; and to maintain it something more than a gigantic Publisher's Circular was evidently required. Moreover Indian literature is not likely to be, for some time, much more than a feeble exotic; and gladly as we have always lent our aid to foster its growth into strength and beauty, we are not prepared to pass the whole of our time, watering-pot in hand, among the heavy damps of the conservatory.

One of the most disadvantageous necessities of our Anglo-Indian literature is, that on most subjects it is tied down to a close

imitation of English models; but there is one—its own peculiar ground—on which we think it might take a bolder tone. On Indian subjects we might fairly expect independence from Indian writers; but such is rarely found to be the case. They usually echo the misconceptions and misrepresentations of the *Home Press*; and naturally react in turn, and keep up those mistakes for which they must needs become a sort of authority. Some of these writings were glanced at in a late issue of this *Review*;\* and we now propose, in the same spirit of impartiality and good feeling, to shew some of the errors of writers in England when they deal with the social characteristics of their countrymen out here. We do not refer to the sound solid books on special Indian subjects, produced by men whose knowledge and ability are limited by no local accidents. The *History of Mill* is scarcely less valuable than those of Elphinstone or Orme, though, unlike those writers, he never set foot in India; and on the other hand authors like Hooker, Royle and Baird Smith, enjoy a European reputation. But it must be confessed that these *specialités* often hamper the general interest of a book, however well done; they are to be regarded doubtless as valuable Monographs, but neither Aqueducts, Fibrous Plants, nor even Chronic Diarrhoea, can be said to be topics which come home to one's daily business and bosom.

But on the other hand, it is undesirable that the works of general literature produced among ourselves are not enough to satisfy the fitful spasms of curiosity which the affairs of India from time to time excite in the breasts of the English. The stimulated appetite of 1857-58 would have swallowed heavier diet than was furnished in any of the works named in our Article above referred to; and as for the novels arising from Indian *motifs* and written by Indians, the *Friend of India* some months ago shewed causes for their inadequacy. One obstacle, it appeared to our weekly contemporary, which prevents the digestion of Indian fiction, is "the feathery palm-tree," so favorite a feature in Oriental Scenery. On this head hangs a tale.

Once upon a time, a friend of ours, whose skill with the pencil is well known to rank high among his social and military accomplishments, felt called upon to send some sketches to the *Illustrated London News*. They were faithful delineations of scenes in Upper India and the Punjaub; and rendered ample justice to the monotonous sky, the unbroken flats, the lumpy mango-groves of those favored climes. To await, in trembling hope, the arrival on the shores of India, or rather on the Regimental Mess table, of the number that should contain these

\* No. LXIII. "The Literature of the Rebellion."

works of art, so slightly flattered by the cunning woodcutter as to deceive (almost) himself, formed the innocent pleasure of our friend's spare moments during the following three months. How they would look, whether the scale would be increased; the Editorial comment calling attention to "the gifted contribution of Phœbus Chateaupen, Esq., Bengal Native Infantry"—we can fancy the honest fellow's feelings. Time sped on, the number arrived and was hurriedly torn open; the pictures—there they were, but they were hardly to be recognized, save by parental eyes. Masses of graceful clouds, vast breadth of shadow, and ranges of distant hills diversify the scenes; whilst the undulating or boldly broken foregrounds are in every instance profusely stocked with cocoa-palms rich with their milky stores! Long did Mr. C. smart under this disappointment—for he was a real artist, and loved truth too much to admit cocoanuts in that region; but at length an opportunity arrived, he visited his native land, and sought an interview with the Publisher of the *News*. Nothing could be more polite; the clouds, the hills, were duly apologized for; in a social sense, one may say, withdrawn. But on the botanical solecism the Hon. Member for Boston, or his delegate, stood firm:—"very sorry, 'Captain; but, you see, the British public demands palm-trees." Now, if the *Friend* will kindly consider the moral of the above apology, we think he will observe that the objection on the score of overcrowded accessories will not hold. Mr. Ingram should be a good authority, and we find him positively and unhesitatingly declaring that the British public expects, on these occasions, the identical monocotyledon which our contemporary implores us to discard.

Certain it is, whatever be the cause, "the general reader" is not satisfied with the light literature offered him by Indian writers; and his views of our life and prospects are usually colored by his ordinary instructors, the Novelists, Essayists and Journalists some of whom we have cited at the commencement of the present pages. We have all learned from Mr. Carlyle, to recognize the place of light or general literature—simply "Literature" according to the common usage of these days. Oratory, Poetry, History, in all their branches, are leafless, compared to this fresh young forest. We still "sit under" the Preacher who is appointed to sit upon us; some people believe even in Parliamentary Debates; History is studied by a few, and played with by a good many; and the works of the poets continue to be regarded as a valuable magazine of weighty and glittering epigrams, quotations which some use for display, for attack or for defence; and which to the elect of Parnassus form stores of private comfort only less dear than the treasured texts of Holy Writ, which they have che-

rished from the time when they stood at their mothers' knees. But, on the whole, the rapid and cheap forms of printing, and the increased extension of the power of reading, while the crowds thus qualified have to spend most of their time struggling for bread, must give the chief influence to the light leaves blown across our daily path, to the novel, the magazine and the newspaper. Even plays are often written *not* to be acted, only to be read; and many a sermon which in former days would have perished, or lived alone in a few sequestered hearts, now influences the whole country; the Preacher being induced, chiefly (of course) by the request of a few partial friends, to seek an infinite expanse of congregation by means of the press. Even the *animalculæ* of the mind, small jokes and their producers, are sucked into the same vortex; as we see in Pendennis, a *convive* checks the rising pun at his publisher's table, as the sacrifice of a possible five-pound note (more or less) from *Punch*. Thought, theology, wit, and song, all the produce of human brain and tongue, gravitates to-day towards the mind of the million, through the medium of the pen and the printing press. A serious responsibility for those who command those potent weapons! How it is generally borne we are not here called on to pronounce; nor indeed is this a subject on which it is quite safe to express an opinion. As in former days it was an admitted axiom that "the king could do no wrong," so is it now treason to speak a word, in public, against the Majesty of that many-headed monarch whose power we have just now been celebrating; and the popular writers of the day, with their servile courtiers, are always ready to sit *in curia Regis*, Judges in their own cause, and to issue and execute sentence of heavy penalties against any such offender. People may murmur—and we all know they do—in private, but woe to the bold rebel whose objections are made known to the Court. "We hurl back the 'censure with scorn' writes—Briefless, Esq., from his chambers, "and we take leave to tell this would-be-independent but anonymous scribbler that his ribald remarks are as false in fact as they are &c." Ensign Bumptious in his Indian Bungalow attempts the same thing, but the royal "*We*," and the roar of the Pantomimic thunder, do not sound so natural as those which fulminate from Printing House Square; and he usually scolds like a washerwoman before he has finished his paragraph. Let it therefore be at once laid down that "The Press" is infallible, if, that is, our object be to save trouble and controversy. Perhaps it might be more manly on the part of the Public to confess that some portion of the weakness of our common nature will certainly cling even to those whom they accept as their ~~here~~; and surely a little more modesty would not misbe-

come those, for their part. Captains of thought should care alone to influence thinking minds, and with such minds a due humility would do them anything but ill service. No doubt public writers are better informed and wiser than those who pay for their opinions—Bampfylde Moore Carew, the Gipsy king and fortune-teller, was a superior man to most of his customers—but they should remember that their success is, of itself, a proof of their bearing *some* resemblance to their readers; a sign that they share with the latter the traditional conceptions derived from the Past, no less than the temporary hallucinations which agitate and perplex the Present.

It is probable that neither the heathen nor Christian races of India will be fitly represented to the people of England in literature under existing conditions. What seems wanting is a writer, or writers, who, to more than common literary skill and experience, should add a fair knowledge of the subject; and it is a sad fact that this combination is not a very probable object of expectation. Hence it happens that, to please a public which “demands palm-trees,” the few Indians who venture into the so-called Republic of Letters appear there under well-known banners, echoing the cries which they there find prevalent. Mr. J. W. Kaye is perhaps the only Indian writer who has been content to describe his *quondam* associates without caricature. Generally speaking, you can scarce pronounce, from the way in which Indian matters are introduced, whether the writer be or be not totally unacquainted with the country. And of Mr. Kaye even, it must be admitted that, at least, his novels are the least popular of his works; so that it would appear almost as if the unvarnished Indian, painted as he is, will hardly go down. There has been for so long a tradition of the “Bengal Tiger,” the wealthy upstart who wears nankeen, and whose skin is as yellow as his curry or his guineas; and who opportunely dies after a life chiefly passed in vulgarity and violence; just as the hero is on the point of losing his lovely Lilian; and thus extricates the attached pair from their anxiety, as they naturally inherit the bulk of his ill-gotten but extensive property. Bon Gaultier in his excellent parody of “Locksley Hall” speaks of his cousin as;—

“Falsier than the Bank of Fashion, frailer than a shilling glove,  
Puppet to a father’s anger, minion to a Nabob’s love;”

and she is reproached, accordingly, with having

“Stooped to marry half a heart,—and  
Little more than half a liver—.”

Times and fashions change, but a perusal of the principal works in which Indian exiles have been mentioned for the last

hundred years will shew that this type has remained tolerably constant; and that Indian writers have not only rarely protested, but often aided in maintaining the absurdity. The natives, on the contrary, are often of the class exemplified in M. Bernardin de St. Pierre's narrative "*La Chaumière Indienne*," a work of which it is impossible to say whether the tone or the tale is the more true, each being decidedly and totally false. Millions of pure-minded but partially clothed philosophers, soaring to the empyrean on wings of contemplation, but dragged again to earth, and trampled on by lawless European taskmasters—this is the state of things which the Palmtree-loving Public believes to exist in India.

"Let us contemplate," said, or might have said, the Sublime—and—Beautiful, "let us contemplate the bloated oppressor, surrounded by his *Nabobs* and his *Kabobs*, his *Chillums*\* and his *Chillumcheest*†; rolling in the lap of plunder, with his *Punka-wallat*‡ in one hand, and his *peenika pany*|| in the other." The reported speeches of Burke and Sheridan on the trial of Warren Hastings are often supposed to be very well "got-up" with local color and accessories; but indeed they are not very much better than the above, although, from the solemnity of the occasion and the fame of the speaker, they have undoubtedly given the cue to a great deal of English opinion on India, and helped to fix the false types we have been denouncing in minds otherwise intelligent and honest. Mr. Phillimore in Parliament, and the *Examiner* among London journals, are noted instances of this; and their misconception of Indian affairs, working upon minds naturally and by training generous and strong, has produced a kind of monomania hardly to have been looked for by those who only listened to them on other topics.

Nor is it long since a noble Lord stood up in his place, and declared of the Civil Officers that they were but one degree raised above the level of civilization of the savages whom they tortured; the officers of the Civil Service from which rose C. Metcalfe, Thomason, Elphinstone, Macnaghten, Elliott, Torrens, Lawrence, and many others whose reputation is not confined to this country. Here, where the Civil Service does its work, its chief unpopularity amongst Anglo-Indians is caused by its imputed over-sympathy with the Natives! So true is the popular mind (and unfortunately a Peer is no more exempt than a Journalist from prejudice) to original and misinformed con-

\* The tobacco prepared for the Hookah.

† A metal basin.

‡ The man who works the indispensable fanning machine.

|| Drinking water.

ceptions. Most people must remember more or less of the passage in which Lord Macaulay, who knows India from experience gathered on the spot, has described the formation of public opinion about "Nabobs," and the way in which it affected literature during the latter part of the last century.

"The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquess. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth.

"The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men; these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tem-



past of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The Dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The Maccaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hothouse flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires. Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart."

It was so, perhaps, from the necessity of the case; but it is discreditable to the Public and her instructors that such a mixture of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, should have been perpetuated for so long a period, exemplifying the danger of giving a dog a bad name. The Indian exile often retired, in those days, with a great deal of money not very purely got, and not very prettily spent; that may be; but now that Indians go home poor and live cleanly, the caricature becomes a libel.

To show the prevalence at one time of the notion regarding the wealth obtainable in India—a notion which had a good deal died out before the Mutiny, although perhaps not even then entirely unfounded, and likely to be quite opposed to the fact in future—the reader may be referred to a story called "*Lame Jervas*," written by Miss Edgeworth in 1799. The story turns on the fortunes of a lame boy who is supposed to have disappeared mysteriously from a Cornish tin mine, and to return twenty years afterwards with a considerable fortune. He assembles his former comrades the miners, and tells them his story; from which it appears that, having been sent out as a teacher in Dr. Bell's School at Madras, he had proceeded to the Court of Tippoo, the Sultan of Mysore, and there made money by presents received from that chief, to whom he exhibited scientific apparatus, and instructed in their use the Prince Abdul Calie,

Tippoo's son. Some years later Theodore Hook, in his amusing novel "Gurney Married," brought some of his Mauritius experience of "Nabobs" to bear on the story of two returned *Millionaires*, Messrs. Nubbley and Cuthbert Gurney; but even then it was apparently contrary to his knowledge of facts to represent *officials* as returning with large fortunes, and his characters are accordingly represented as retired merchants. Nubbley is an active, but absent-minded, man of business, while Cuthbert has all the lazy listless habits of the traditional Nabob. Nubbley's cellar of wine at Chittagong Villa is a good bit:—"His London 'Particular Madeira, Gordon Duff and Bean's own, bought by 'himself in their hospitable mansion, or rather palace, in the 'Ruadas Esmeraldas at Funchal—four pipes, with two quarter-pipes to fill up ullage—his delicious Paxton port..." But though, like Col. Newcome, Mr. Cuthbert is ruined by the failure of a house in Calcutta, there is little but conventionalism in his portrait.

Even Sir Walter Scott split upon this rock to a certain extent. Colonel Mannering, to be sure, is not a very conventional Nabob; but on the other hand there is so little Indian about him, that it was, apparently, only for the sake of accounting for his wealth that he was connected with India at all. The adventures of Mr. Richard Middlemas at the Court of Tippoo will amuse the reader who will turn to the pages of "The Surgeon's Daughter;" but they are entirely free from that life-like interest which attaches to so many of the Magician of the North's creations, and are evidently written from cram. In fact, in those days, India only existed in the popular imagination as a kind of Eldorado of irresponsibility, and Indians were too small and isolated a class to cause any dread to be felt of their criticism.

But a better time, we will hope, is at hand. There is one writer who, with all but the very first gifts, has made use of his splendid position to describe Indian life and character soberly, though in a manner certainly no less entertaining than any of his less conscientious predecessors. The following charming passage from "The Newcomes" shews how truly Mr. Thackeray, perhaps alone in this respect, appreciates some of the real circumstances of our exile;—[He is speaking of some children being embarked for England.]

"What a sad report their parents had that day! How their hearts followed the careless young ones home across the great ocean! Mothers' prayers go with them. Strong men, alone on their knees, with streaming eyes and broken accents, implore Heaven for those little ones who were prattling at their sides but a few hours since. Long after they are gone, careless and happy, recollections of the sweet past rise up and smite those who remain; the flowers they had planted in their little gardens, the toys

they played with, the little vacant cribs they slept in as fathers' eyes looked blessings down on them. \* \* \* \* \* What a strange pathos appears to me to accompany all our Indian story! Besides that official history which fills Gazettes, and embroiders banners with names of victory which give moralists and enemies cause to cry out at English rapine and enable patriots to boast of invincible British valour—besides the splendour and conquest, the wealth and glory, the crowned ambition and the conquered danger, the vast prize, and the blood freely shed in winning it—should not one remember the tears too?"

Here is a sketch from the same work, which shews how much the author has been struck with the false tone of which we have been speaking;—

"One of Colonel Newcome's fellow passengers from India was Mr. James Binnie of the Civil Service, a jolly young bachelor of two or three and forty, who having spent half of his past life in Bengal, was bent upon enjoying the remainder in Britain or in Europe, if a residence at home should prove agreeable to him. The Nabob of books and tradition is a personage no longer to be found among us. He is neither as wealthy nor as wicked as the jaundiced monster of romances and comedies, who purchases the estates of broken-down English gentlemen with Rupees tortured out of bleeding Rajahs, who smokes a hookah in public, and in private carries about a guilty conscience, diamonds of untold value, and a diseased liver; who has a vulgar wife, with a retinue of black servants whom she maltreats, and a gentle son and daughter with good impulses and an imperfect education, desirous to amend their own and their parents' lives, and thoroughly ashamed of the vices of the old people. If you go to the house of an Indian gentleman now, he does not say, "Bring more curricles," like the famous Nabob of Stanstead Park. He goes to Leadenhall Street in an omnibus, and walks back from the city for exercise. I have known some who have had maid-servants to wait on them at dinner. \* \* \* \* \* After two-and-twenty years' absence from London, Mr. Binnie returned to it on the top of the Gosport coach with a hat-box and a little portmanteau, a pink fresh-shaven face, a perfect appetite, a suit of clothes like every body else's, and not the shadow of a black servant."

Few characters in the wide range of English fiction are likely to be more valued and loved than Thomas Newcome; and though he may be no more a type of the Bengal Officer than Sir Roger de Coverley of the English country gentleman, yet Indians may well be proud of such a representative, and grateful to the author. Who has forgotten his old-fashioned courtesy, his modesty, truthfulness, and manly foibles; his cold bearing towards J. J. Ridley the butler's son, "kind but distant, as to a private soldier," or his indignation and hauteur when he found His Highness Rummun Lall the centre of an admiring group of English ladies? Page after page of this charming description might be extracted, and greatly to the adornment of the present Paper; but we must refer to the book itself, for the whole character will well repay careful study.

Mr. Dickens is a writer of a very different stamp. As keen in his observation as his great contemporary, he has not the well-

bred manner, the classical reserve, which are necessary to give real truthfulness to character-painting. Instead of being dramatic he is melodramatic; his personages smell of the footlights, we fancy them on the stage in that delusive splendour. Great, extraordinary, is his comic power, the broadest, heartiest mirth, without a spice of ill-nature (except when he puts on his dignity robes, and stalks forth as a social reformer) but it is nearly always *buffoonery*. What amused us so much in the Wellers and Squeers, (in characters of the class we had never met or studied) the exaggeration became unpleasing in Pecksniff, and others of whom we were better qualified to judge: perhaps Major Bagstock is one of the most striking illustrations of this. Like Colonel Newcome, he is a retired officer who has served in Bengal; but he is the mere conventional Nabob, blue instead of yellow, with a native servant whom he beats furiously without provocation. Take the following specimens:—

“Although Major Bagstock had arrived at what is called in polite literature the grand meridian of life, and was proceeding on his journey down hill with hardly any throat, and a very rigid pair of jawbones, and long flapped elephantine ears, and his eyes and complexion in a state of artificial excitement, he was mightily proud of awaking an interest in Miss Fox, and tickled his vanity with the fiction that she was a splendid woman who had an eye on him. \* \* \* It may be doubted whether there was ever a more selfish person at heart: or at stomach: perhaps a better expression, seeing that he was more decidedly endowed with that latter organ than with the former.”\*

Again;

“Here is a boy, Sir, son of Bitherstone of Bengal. Bill Bitherstone, formerly of ours. That boy’s father and myself, Sir, were sworn friends. Wherever you went, Sir, you heard of nothing but Bill Bitherstone and Joe Bagstock. Am I blind to that boy’s defects? By no means. He is a fool, Sir.”

Again;

“Where is my scoundrel?” said the Major, looking wrathfully round the room.

“The Native, who had no particular name (?) but answered to any vituperative epithet, presented himself instantly at the door, and ventured to come no nearer.

“You Villain!” said the Major ‘where’s the breakfast?’ “The dark servant disappeared in search of it, and was quickly heard re-ascending the stairs in such a tremulous state that the plates and dishes on the tray he carried, trembling sympathetically as he came, rattled again all the way up.”

Or this;

“In this flow of spirits and conversation, only interrupted by his usual plethoric symptoms, and by intervals of lunch, and from time to time by some violent assault upon the Native who wore a pair of earrings in his dark brown ears \* \* \* the Major continued all day, etc.”

Surely this is merely the Indian of farce, a dressed up, disgusting phantom, described *from without*; while Thackeray's is done from actual knowledge, *intus et in cute*. We really do not institute this comparison merely for its being favorable to our own class. Let us take Colonel Altamont of H. M. the King of Oude's service from *Pendennis*; surely he is not a favorable specimen of our class; yet he is true to nature; and a distinguished officer and general will rise to the recollection of many as a justification of the horrid picture. The splendid exterior, vulgar manners, and unbridled habits do not delight us, we are glad to think we do not know *many* Indians of the type, but it is one, for all that, which we recognize. We believe that we have seen Colonel Altamont.

Take another specimen, one coming still nearer to the unpleasant blue Major "the heaving mass of Indigo," take the celebrated Collector of Boggleywallah. Does not the same remark hold good, and will not the British reader trust, now, to the skilful Master? If he believes that India has Civil Officers like Jos. Sedley, and Militaires resembling Colonel Altamont, will he not (*per contra*) accept Colonel Newcome and Mr. Binnie? If he will not, the only defence of his conduct will have to be founded on the books written by Indians themselves; which, as we have before hinted, are not implicitly to be followed, because so few amongst us have the necessary leisure or natural power to enable them to rely on their own resources; and are hence led to appeal to certain conventional preconceptions, and to describe Indian manners and matters as they fancy they are expected to do, rather than as they have seen them.

We can indeed conceive a writer possessed of less skill than Mr. Thackeray, not so complete a man of the world, less observant, it may be; still conscientiously minded and truthfully bent on conveying to others the knowledge and the feeling that were in him. We can imagine of such an one, with such an object, producing Essays, Sketches, Tales or Novels—all, in short, that is commonly called Literature—in which Indian Society should be represented as composed of much the same materials as that of the minor aristocracy, or "upper-middle-class" of England; the tone a little saddened by *mal de pays*, and by the serious aspect in which life is presented to them; taught by that experience that "life is real, life is earnest" and death ever at hand, but also knowing how to gather, with a gentle epicureanism, the innocent wayside flowers of Hospitality, Mutual-help, and Becoming-mirth. The younger men should still shoot tigers, but their sports should nerve them for the nobler game of war; they should be fond of society, and ready to dance with any partners they could find; a little reckless, even sometimes call-

ing the natives "niggers," though not given to causelessly breaking their heads, and promptly brought to book for every such unprovoked outbreak; the young ladies indulging themselves with innocent freedom, and marrying early and mostly for love; the middle-aged couples knit to one another, in a manner seldom seen among their contemporaries at home, by the consciousness of impending separation, of serious aims and hopes, of lost infants forgetting them in England or watching them from Heaven; the old men often distinguished by wisdom or by valor shewn during many years of public service, discussing grave topics with a wide and liberal scope, and earnestly striving to better the condition of the seemingly God-forgotten heathen who surround them. Over all, too, would now hang the shadows of a fearful Past, the clouds of an uncertain Future; the memories of the Saints and Martyrs, of the heroic young soldiers slain foully in the promise of their prime, the guileless children, the fond mothers, the fair girls gone—gone through the Gate of Blood, through shame and sorrow to Him who went there some eighteen hundred years before; and the anticipations of change so perplexing to those who have grown up before the Revolution, when the foundations seem shaken, and even the righteous falter in their course.\* But as the Apostle speaks of "spots in feasts of love, &c. raging waves of the sea, *foaming out their own shame*," so it must be confessed that amongst us too, at the present day, there are many disgraceful or ridiculous individuals, and some of these are from time to time brought forth as fair samples of the whole.

Among the most recent of these reprehensible caricatures we must certainly reckon Captain Atkinson's "Curry and Rice," a work by an Indian Engineer officer, but published in London. There are a number of colored lithographs, many of which are very well done, the Publishers having spared no due exertions in presenting them to the public with graceful execution; but, alas, all this skill and labor are only successful in more signally illustrating the inherent vulgarity and stupid superficiality of the author's conceptions. In many of the pictures the exaggerations are utterly pointless; as, for example, where "The Judge" is represented by a lean old scarecrow in the costume of forty years since, and a close transcript of the picture of "The Civilian" in "Tom Raw, the Griffin," a book by the late Sir Charles D'Oyley, which was considered clever in the early part of the century. No attempt is made to preserve the likenesses of the various characters,

\* The conduct of the late E. I. Company's European soldiers will serve as an instance of what must be the feelings of Civil and Military Officers, though they may be too loyal and honorable to give way to them.

though this is obviously the great charm in a series of social sketches, and even in the Letter-press their individuality is of the very faintest. The crowning humor is to assign to those shadowy creations names founded on a misconception of certain vernacular words for ingredients and materials of cookery, in furtherance, probably, of the brilliant idea in the title of the book: but some of the names shew a still loftier aim, and emulate the facetiousness of "Ten Thousand a Year," where a Schoolmaster is called Mr. Hic, Hæc, Hoc. The style is a forced imitation of Mr. Thackeray's, and to him the work appears to be dedicated (with or without permission) if we have rightly interpreted the intention of a flippantly worded epistle which follows the title page, and which is without any address, but commences "My dear Thackeray."\* We can only trust that the humorist (if he does peruse the book) will, in common with all others for whose opinion we Indians ought to care, exercise taste and sense enough to see that such an affair can only be a fair portrait of a certain portion of our society, drawn by a person whose deficiencies in both sense and taste prevented him from associating with any other.

To turn from such a book to the Life and Letters of the late lamented William Hodson, is like stepping from Madame Warton's Walhalla into that of Woden. Yet both belonged to the same profession, being Captains in the Indian Army. Let the reader, therefore, take to heart this lesson; that, as one man will see nothing but meanness all round him, and will find in the siege of Delhi itself material for "comic copy," while another finds it all instinct with serious interests and noble struggles; so Indian Society as a whole is not to be dismissed with any one sweeping epithet. There are several reasons why no man is a hero to his valet, one (a common one) being that valets do not know heroes when they see them. We do not say that all Indian officers are Hodsons, nor yet that Hodson himself was a perfect hero (who is?) He was evidently very "wide awake," more of a Marmion than a De Wilton. But we maintain that a picture of Indian life, in which intelligent soldiery and thirst of glory should be entirely omitted, were no good likeness.

There is no such word in the Dictionary as "pessimism," but the thing is very common. Some of the Smelfungus tribe will go from Caithness to Cornwall and say, "all is corrupt." We should like to extract from a recent lecture by Archbishop Whately a passage wonderfully descriptive of the tendency of

\* It is right however to mention that there is a Lieutenant Thackeray in the Bengal Army to whom this may apply, as being in his corps. Capt. A. is more likely to be intimate with him than with the great namesake.

such writings as "Little Dorrit," and "Never too late to Mend;" but space presses, and we can only give a few short sentences, hoping that they may lead our readers to peruse the whole work. He commences this portion of his remarks by saying how much he regrets to find.

"Writers who, with much wit and power of description, find amusement for themselves and their readers in the keen pursuit and exposure of everything faulty, or which can be represented as faulty in every portion of our whole system; exaggerating with eager delight every evil they can find, and fixing on it like a raven pouncing on a piece of carrion; inventing such as do not exist, and keeping out of sight whatever is well done, and unexceptional."

The fault, he says, is peculiarly attributable to the authors of "what are avowedly works of *amusement*, and the *main staple* of which is to hold up our institutions to ridicule mixed with 'abhorrence.'" After shewing that such representations would, if believed, create a revolution, the thoughtful writer thus proceeds;—

"The practical effect on the minds of the greater part of the Public is to render them incredulous as to real and remediable defects, and indifferent about really needful reforms. They understand that these overwrought representations are merely for dramatic effect."

The conclusion of these extracts especially points to all exaggeration in novels, social no less than political. The "Uncle Tom-School" is not without followers, even among the thin ranks of Anglo-Indian authors. It would be bad enough if a Chinese, after a six months' residence in London, during which he occupied himself in visiting the hospitals and making drawings of the principle diseases and deformities which fell under his notice, were to write them in one figure, and exhibit the picture to the intelligent public of Peking, on his return to that capital, as the likeness of an average Englishman; the hair afflicted with Plica Polonica, the nose and teeth destroyed by the use of Mercury, the shoulders unequal, the back humped, the belly dropsical, the legs crooked, and the feet clubbed. Yet how far worse is the conduct of a person who does this with regard to his own countrymen and intimate companions, and that not with their bodies but their minds.

Foremost among our Indian pessimists is the quondam Editor of the "Optimist". Mr. Lang was a successful journalist in this country, and at home has proved himself to possess some dramatic power and narrative skill. We cannot afford to pass without notice an author who has written a play with Tom Taylor, and published a Novel in Mr. Routledge's "Two Shil-



ling Series." But the pictures given of Indian Society in Mr. Lang's works do far "more credit to his head than his heart." The tale which appeared serially in *Fraser's Magazine* some years ago under the title of "The Wetherbys," was completely constructed on the hospital-scheme above referred to; the whole of the characters being, to all appearance, selected from the rogues and drabs whom the author may have known or met during the course of an Indian career, which was not perhaps very well regulated or very fortunate in the general nature of its associations. However this may be, we cannot allow that such a book presents a fair specimen of the constitution of Indian Society. A later work—"Will He Marry Her?"—is free from this objection, the Indians introduced being mostly distinguished for courage and virtue; but it is so inferior in construction, in probability, in every point of literary execution, that it can hardly be looked to as an antidote to the venom of "The Wetherbys."

The amiable and earnest author of "Oakfield," who is, alas, beyond the reach of criticism or the power of amending his faults, doubtless injured both his adopted country and his own reputation by a similar error. Entering the Indian Army from the bosom of a University and of a high-toned English home, Mr. Arnold passed, directly, into one of the (then) worst regulated Corps in the Bengal Native Infantry; and it was his further misfortune to pass from that into a second corps, which is stated to have been even worse. Did this justify him in making his great talents subservient to an exhibition of "Fellowship in the East" which should combine the worst traits of the worst men in these two Regiments, as a fair example of the worst fabric? This is worse than the Scholasticus in Hierocles, for we do not read that that celebrated sage selected a *half-baked* brick as a sample of his house when he put it up for sale. Time and death, sanctifying powers, have done much, we may be sure, to mitigate the resentment which Mr. Arnold incurred in India. Love for the man, respect for his memory, honest appreciation of the fearless earnestness of his book, regret for the premature close of his useful career, the natural short-livedness of all violent feelings—all these causes will operate in mitigation of a possibly exaggerated censure; but the wise man, whose censure was moderate at the time, will not so relax its strictness; *nec sumit nec ponit secures arbitrio popularis auræ*. If a thing was wrong, let it be called wrong, as far as it was wrong, that so future imitators may know what to avoid, and any other evil results of the evil may be warded off as far as may be. Let the public give up—to a certain extent—its palm-trees; and a Phoenix of another sort shall perhaps be given to it; even an

Indian Novel containing views of Indian life at once natural and varied, looking for a sure, if slow, success.

A book which legitimately claims our attention in this connection is "The Timely Retreat," the account of a year in Bengal by two young ladies, which was so much talked of during the period of 1857 and first half of 1858. Without denying that something is due to the *à propos*, it may still be admitted that no utterly stupid book could have had such a "run;" we have been assured that, before the second edition was out, the trade-subscriptions for a third were completed; and all in about the third month from the appearance of the book. The fair writers may take Martial's ground, the bookseller is the truest critic after all. But, whatever may have been the book's merit, and however one may disapprove such unmanly attacks as the Article "English Girls" in the *Saturday Review*, we cannot compliment the fair writers on their reserve or their good taste. Under their disguises, men and women who had kindly received them in India, whose lives and motives were alike utterly unknown to them, were made actors in a "low comedy," just at the very time that they were struggling for life or honor amidst horrors such as are rare even in the blood-stained page of religious history. The contrast is too broad and too dreadful to be here pursued.

But it was necessary to notice it; because, though the sufferings of the Indian exile are not usually so severe, nor the *persiflage* of his caricaturists so strikingly inappropriate, there is yet this objectionable fact remaining, that the English, and their imitators among ourselves, consider ill-health, exile, ennui, fit subjects for smart writing, and their victims valuable as constituents for a farce. Let us hope that this is, in many cases, the result of ignorance, misled by the traditions of their literature during so long a period, and overwhelmed by a competition which renders dullness a mortal sin. Light writers at Home, whether in Magazine, Newspaper or Novel, must make the best they can of Indians. And the handsome salaries ("on the same scale," says *The Times*, "as the Elephant, the Banyan, and the palm-tree," *heu, iterum Crispinus!*) together with the high social position, form an idea more easily appreciable to the Grub-Street mind than the somewhat sentimental drawbacks by which those advantages are accompanied; but these are not the less real. A member of one of the Indian services, or of a good mercantile firm, may marry young it is true: but he is usually doomed to see wife and children droop, decay, and die around him in a few years, unless he can nerve himself to send them to England; in which case he has to bear the expenses of a married establishment combined with the discomforts of bachelor life. The climate, of

which Mr. Bright makes so little, is simply the most miserable that can be conceived on this side of Phlegethon; the winters wet or windy, the summers wasting and wearisome. How would Mr. Bright like to spend half the year on the top of the monument, and the other half tied by the leg to the door of a furnace? The frightful boredom, loneliness, absence of amusement, in this part of India at least, have been noticed in two recent articles of this *Review*,\* but they must be *felt* to be appreciated.

Not but that exile, like every other condition of human life, has its blessings for those who with thankful hearts embrace all divine dispensations. Many of us, it is to be hoped, are of those who "sow in tears to reap in joy." The same beautiful Psalm tells us that he who goes forth weeping, and *bearing good seed*, shall come again with joy, and bring his sheaves with him. And is not the condition so far true as to justify the hope that the promise will be fulfilled? The young man, the fair girl, who start for India with their father's "last faltered blessing" on their heads, and their mother's constant sweet counsel at their hearts, may not these be truly said to bear good seed? And though, to human sight they come not again, though the eye fail in watching, and the gray hairs go down in sorrow to the grave, do we not know that none in this world have an abiding city, in order that we may seek one that is above? It was pathetically said by one who is now gone to his rest, that "people in India talked of 'Home,' as if it were their long-home." Let us remember the spirit of brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert's last words; "It is as near to Heaven from India as from Europe."

Having been thus led to take a more serious view of the subject than that with which we commenced, we think it appropriate to speak a few words on Missionary matters, and the notions of Hindooism prevalent in the religious world at Home. During the late crisis a good deal of excitement prevailed on this subject, and Parsondom was moved in all its departments from Samuel Oxon to Baptist Noel. Whether the East India Company had done too much or too little for Christianity, had fostered or insulted idolatry, was not agreed, but this was certain, that, the waters being troubled, the curing of sick souls was at hand. We have selected Mr. Curteis' Sermon as a type of these views, because he represents the sensible, moderate, well-informed portion of the English Church, and because his very virtues have led him into what we cannot but consider serious errors.

\* Vol. XXVII. Article 3, "Indian Ennui."

Vol. XXVIII. Article 1, "Life in the North West."

No one who does not know India by practical experience can tell how little real influence (especially for good) the systems of the Pundits really have on the people at large of this day; and therefore how much need there is, when we speak of the Hindoos' superiority over us in philosophy, to add the words of St. Paul, "falsely so called." Speculative systems in which imaginary premises are pushed by force of logic into unpractical conclusions; this is from beneath, and very different from the wisdom that is from above, of which it is said, "Happy the man that findeth her." Mr. Curteis, and the religious philanthropists in general, seem to approach the brink of Mr. F. Newman's heresy that all religions are divine; whereas in fact this is not God's world, but on the contrary most of its creeds are from the *de facto* Prince, who studiously parodies the forms of truth, as he transforms himself into an angel of light, and makes *Devil*, *Deev*, *Devta*, to look like those of God.\* The study, then, of Indian systems should form a part not of theology—which is one—but of Satanology, which varies to suit the varying whims of human passion, and whose fruits are sin and death. Missionaries may study them, but only as King Alfred studied Guthrum's Camp. This *respect* with which they are urged to enter upon discussions with heathen sages, will often leave them unable to keep their heads above water. Such questions as the origin of evil, the nature of Goo or of the soul, the existence of Matter, are not weapons from the memory of faith, and its soldiers had best not choose them when challenged. If, on the other hand, the heathen be encouraged to incorporate into Christianity any part—no matter how seemingly innocent—of his own system, he will surely cling to the whole. An incarnation more, as Mr. Curteis acknowledges, is nothing to that wonder-loving mind. The vast numbers of Indian Christians in the 17th century to whom he refers, what were they but the converts of the Jesuits; who allowed them to alter Déby's paint, and call her the blessed virgin. And where are they now? We know the consequences of putting new wine into old bottles.

Let the Missionary look on these false systems as no more complements of truth than Darkness is of Light, or Satan of the Almighty. We look for a time when there shall be neither night, nor devil, nor any evil thing; shall we not expedite its coming? May not the Missionary say, "Brother, I know your systems and their fruits; and I cannot argue about them, because the demonstration of *fact* has already solved them by the *reductio ad absurdum*." Then he may bring in the beauty of holiness, and the divine affinities of the soul of man; and fortify

\* So in Slavonic "Bog" = God; in Scotch Bogie is Demon.

the whole fabric by the unshakeable bastions of personal virtue and national glory.

On the whole, we submit that the European and Native inhabitants of India have a kind of common cause, a common ground on which to move the British nation for a review of judgment. We and our predecessors have formed British India, the admiration and envy of continental Europe, and a magnificent field for usefulness as ever nation had. We ask, in return, no more than what every man owes his brother—well-informed sympathy and consideration. The natives are really as much injured by being looked upon as black Englishmen, as are the settlers when they are regarded as English blacks, (or blackguards). There is a kind of telescopic philanthropy which, sweeping the horizon in search of sufferers, neglects the claimants for aid who shiver on its own doorsteps: but the worst feature of it is that is essentially uncharitable, and involves the transfer to distant and ill-perceived objects of that scorn and reproach which, did you but look at your feet, would seem due to yourselves. It is not only charity that should begin at home, but censure also. Some of us may remember the light in which the planters of Jamaica were popularly regarded before the emancipation of the slaves. That is the very spirit which actuates too many English writers (who ought, however, to know better) in depicting a fancy-portrait of Anglo Indians. The same men who went on till 1858 without attempting to provide for the homeless poor of their own metropolis, and who bring their whole nation into contempt and hatred by vulgar insolence in continental streets and hotels, these are the very first to take up a cry because they find—or fancy that they find—their countrymen in the East keeping order somewhat roughly among a set of hereditary bondsmen to whom they are as one to one thousand; and who love them as Westminster boys did Dr. Busby. The middle classes of England are dreaming, they may awake too late. Let them do their duty towards those who are placed in their immediate charge, and give us credit for wishing to do the same towards the people of Hindoostan.

ART. III.—*Minute on the Employment of Junior Civil Officers as Assistant Judges.* By the HON'BLE F. J. HALLIDAY, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. April, 1859.

THE Judicial Courts of Bengal are not generally favorites of the Indian public. Ever since their introduction under the auspices of that Company which is now numbered with the things that were, up till the present day, the cry has been loudly raised against them. Many an able essay has been written on their constitution and defects, many an indignant philippic has been poured forth against their abuses; Civilians have mildly remonstrated, "outsiders" and "interlopers" vehemently protested against their insufficiency for the wants of the country at large, yet up till now without effect. The same "traditionary policy" which wished to keep India a close borough or appanage of Leadenhall Street, maintained the Judicial Courts with their acknowledged defects in spite of all the clamor and outcry against them. Regulations and Acts doubtless were made altering the principles of the administration of justice, but the procedure of the Judicial Courts seemed too perfect to require change or admit of improvement. "*Laissez aller*" was the motto of our legislators, and thus up till now the Court procedure has been but slightly modified, far less, as was required, radically changed. Now however a change has passed over the government of India, a change too in the principle of that government, and the hopes of India's well-wishers have waxed high. Reform is all the cry, and among the many topics to which that cry has reference, the Bengal Courts hold a prominent place. Already in the Punjab has a new judicial system been initiated under Lawrence and Montgomery, already in the North West Provinces reforms are being mooted and devised despite the curse of the Regulations, and we trust the tide of improvement will not ebb, till it reaches the benighted regions of Lower Bengal. We propose to give a brief outline of the life which the embryo Magistrate and Collector first enters on in the Mofussil, noting as we go along the impressions likely to arise in his mind on first being brought into contact with the realities of the Judicial Courts.

Let us first consider the initiatory training which the young Civilian receives to prepare him for the duties of his profession. It has frequently been a taunt raised against the Civil Service that its members, from the moment of their appointment on the establishment, seemed to be considered capable of successively assuming the powers and performing the duties of Magistrate, Collector, Judge or Commissioner without any special training whatsoever. "*Poeta nascitur, Collector fit*" some one has remarked,

but the truth of the proposition was apparently not universally admitted, and if we may judge from sundry expressions generally used with reference to our administrators, the Civilian was supposed to lay claim to direct inspiration and intuitive aptitude to perform the duties of his calling. The taunt was repeatedly repudiated. Haileybury and Fort William Colleges were pointed out as standing proofs of the injustice of the reproach, and it was asked in reply if, with these institutions vividly before them, cavillers would still dare to bring against the Company the charge of neglecting their servants' early training. Yet, notwithstanding this open challenge, the cry against the deficiency of young Civilians' special training continued and still prevails. We do not purpose in our present remarks to enter into any elaborate discussion as to the comparative excellence or deficiency of the Competitive and old Haileybury system. That is a question which in our opinion will be better determined by time and the actual results of the future than by any conjectures we might offer on the subject. Sufficient data have not yet been provided to enable us with any certainty to pronounce the new superior to the old method, and we believe that not until a generation of competition-Civilians has passed away, and their actual career be compared with that of a generation of Haileybury men, can a just decision be pronounced. Leaving then this question as a moot point at present, we shall confine our remarks to the so-called special training provided for the young Civilian in the College of Fort William, Calcutta—a training immediately preceding his employment in active life, and ostensibly professing to fit him for the successful performance of his duties in the Mofussil.

The great aim professedly on the part of the Indian Government has always been to make their servants a body of practical working men—so to teach them that "the art and practical part of life should be the mistress to the theoretic." And in so doing doubtless the aim was praiseworthy. India, the fabled dreamland of the ancients, has certainly not proved so to any modern adventurers who have had the curiosity or hardihood to wander thither. From the times of Vasco de Gama down to the Mutiny of 1857, India has witnessed more of stern, sterling action and activity than perhaps any other country in the world. It has afforded no sphere of ease and retirement for the philosopher who studied morals and not men; obstacles requiring the highest energy and exertion to overcome, have constantly presented themselves; and the Englishman, first as conqueror and then as ruler of the country, has had ever to deal more with the actual than the ideal, more with facts than fancies. Praiseworthy indeed then was the aim of the Directors

of the old Company to send out a body of men, who would not be ashamed to apply all their energies to work, and who would grapple directly and earnestly with the incidents of every day life as they arose,—praiseworthy was their aim we say, were the means adopted to attain their end equally deserving of commendation. In former days the so-called special training was inaugurated at Haileybury, where Law, Political Economy, Hindustani, &c. were taught by learned and competent professors. How much of their instructions the students of Haileybury carried with them from the halls of their Alma Mater to the shores of Calcutta, and the examination-room of Fort William College, we have neither time nor inclination to inquire. Most people considered that the young Civilian in his student days at Haileybury resembled that prince of old, whose “contemplation, ‘obscured under the veil of wildness, grew like summer grass ‘fastest by night: unseen yet crecive in its faculty.” An opinion not unsupported by experience, and confirmed by witnesses from among the members of the service itself.

We do not mean to condemn altogether the system in vogue at Haileybury. It had its bright as well as its dark side, its recommendations as well as its disadvantages. The students were united by the strong bond of community of aim, and an ‘esprit de corps’ was thereby established which has ever been remarked as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Civil Service. Still notwithstanding this and other advantages which we could mention, we are obliged to admit that as a special training school for future work in India—the object for which it was established, Haileybury was, to speak mildly, defective. The new system, brought into force in 1855, brought within the pale of the Indian Civil Service men who, up to the date of their admission, had received a high general education, but who were not, with few exceptions specially trained for any one of the learned professions, much less for the Indian Civil Service. The examination, success in which secured their admission into the service, was designed to test more their education as gentlemen than their special knowledge of India or Indian lore, and the students admitted thus by competition arrived in Calcutta to commence a career, which to most of them must have been comparatively unknown, and for which few if any were prepared. For both of these classes—Haileybury as well as Competition, a second curriculum of study was provided in Fort William College. Here both combine; each has the same test to undergo, each the same facilities afforded him, each the same incentives to spur him on. Promotion depends upon success; the sooner therefore the ordeal is passed the better for the future prospects of each.

Now in what does this special training consist? The young



Civilian on his arrival is ordered to commence studying the languages or dialects used in the division of the Presidency to which he is attached. Certain books are appointed, the contents of which he must master to the satisfaction of the examiner, before he receives any substantive rank or can perform any official duties. Month after month must the student appear before the dread tribunal and report progress in his studies; month after month does he patiently, by the aid of Moonshee and dictionary, endeavor to reach the desired standard of excellence; month after month his progress is declared "tolerable" or "fair," till at last even the conscientious examiner is satisfied, and the name of the student appears in the *Gazette* as "qualified for the public service," permitted to put his foot on the first round of that ladder which by manifold windings conducts to the 'Sudder, Lieutenant Governorship, and seat in the Indian Council. Qualified for the public service—qualified to quit the examination room, and enter the cutcherry—qualified to quit the study of books, and begin that of men—qualified to abandon the do-nothingness of Calcutta life and enter upon a career of activity and usefulness in the Mofussil! Well may our young friend rejoice at such a prospect. But is the young Civilian really qualified to do all this, capable of successfully performing those duties which have been assigned him? His ability to understand and be understood by those with whom he daily mingles, is, one would imagine, a point of vital importance to be ascertained, but the framers of the Calcutta examination-scheme seem to have thought differently. The young Civilian apparently is considered either to have resided too long in the country to require a test on this point, or too short a time to enable him to pass the trial satisfactorily; the question therefore of his competency or incompetency in conversation is deferred till a future occasion, and the student is released from College, capable to give a few short orders intelligible to his bearer or khitmutgar, generally totally unable to understand or maintain a lengthened conversation. His actual knowledge of the language—the point sought to be tested and ascertained by the examination, consists in being able to translate with tolerable fluency a puerile oriental fable-book, written in a dialect which he has rarely, if ever, occasion to use; to translate into a similarly pure and high style several easy English sentences, and to read a printed book without absolutely spelling through each word. The books selected as the test of the student's competency may have been useful in former days; at present only a man of singularly vivid imagination could point out their recommendations or advantages; and few students, we conceive, have found either the lucubrations of Asad Bakht, or the pious meditations of the

owl and crow in the Ikhnan-us-Safa, of much benefit or assistance in their future career. Such then is the philological armour, equipped in which the young Civilian is sent forth to begin the battle of official life in the Judicial Courts.

The main object of this linguistic training is, we are told, (and supposed to believe,) to enable the young man at once to begin his daily work, and perform his official duties. Now there are two ways of learning a language,—either by the eye or by the ear, either by the study of books or men, either by long continued and careful analysis of the thoughts of others as written or spoken. The man who follows wholly the former plan may be an accomplished scholar, he never can become a great, seldom a good linguist; the man who adopts the latter method, may, it is granted, sometimes be deficient in the graces of diction, but he will have the advantage of understanding and making himself understood by others. Which then of these two methods would a practical man recommend to be pursued in the training of the young Civilian? His pursuits surely are, or are intended to be, more those of the man of action than of the scholar; his daily life surely requires knowledge of the language as spoken rather than as written. A deep, intricate and critical study of the language, in the circumstances in which he is placed, is not only superfluous but injurious; it wastes time, and we are convinced from experience that we are not wrong in stating that it impairs the facilities for afterwards mastering conversational idiom. The student very rarely *thinks* in the language which he studies; he is obliged first to clothe the thought with his own vernacular, and then by translation, express it in the other language; while in the case of the man who learns principally by the ear, involuntarily the idea presents itself to his mind in the language which he has thus acquired, and he is enabled to express it in the form most likely to be understood by natives of the country.

Yet despite its disadvantages, this student system is the one which the practical anti-theoretic authorities of Leadenhall Street have fixed upon to ensure their young servants going forth from their halls qualified to commence their actual duties; nay more the system has not even the merit which we tacitly assign it. To study a language by dictionary and book requires many a long year to produce any satisfactory result. What conclusion then must we come to when we find the students of Fort William College declared “qualified” in two languages in about the space of six or eight months. Students and scholars they may all be in name, and many in inclination, but the system forbids them becoming any thing better than smatterers, having a knowledge which leans more to the scholarly side yet reaches

not thereto practically, sent forth to engage in their duties without the means of conveying their thoughts intelligibly to any save perhaps Pundits or Moonshees. Of what use are the "sesquipedalia verba" of the "Betalpanchabinsati," to an unkempt ryot, who knows of nought beyond his own field or village, or to the sleek half educated Mohurrir, whose pen glides but in the language of the Courts? Yet among those two classes, the ryot of the district and the Mohurrirs of the Cutcherry, is the young Magistrate supposed to pass most of his time. The sphere in which the career of the young assistant lies is generally and with rare exceptions, the Mofussil. Why is he not sent there at once, learning, like any other apprentice to a profession, his future work practically under a Magistrate or Collector, rather than wasting time and opportunities in the dank and dreary atmosphere of Calcutta. He will surely acquire more knowledge in the office of the Magistrate than in the examination room of the College; he will be daily and hourly thrown amongst the natives of the country, who understand not his tongue, and will through very helplessness intuitively learn to express his ideas in theirs. He will be "qualified"—really qualified—to begin work within half the time which the present system requires, and thus gain for himself all the sooner a position among the actual working members of the service. He will learn to read and write documents more quickly in the Mofussil than in Calcutta, and will, by mingling amongst the natives, all the sooner gain some insight into Asiatic character, an acquisition so essential and yet so difficult of attainment. Let it remain for the Magistrate to say when the young assistant is fit to be entrusted with judicial powers and to perform official duties. These officers as gentlemen will not study partiality or favoritism in the exercise of this power, nor as Magistrates will they hastily throw work into the hands of incompetent instruments who are likely to return it ill done or not done at all; and thus the Magistrate, instead of having to deal with a stranger assistant imported from Calcutta, will be able more skilfully to employ the instrument of his own making—the youth whom he has trained and whose character he has watched—in the work best suited to his abilities and capacity.

Turn we now to the second phase of our young assistant's career. He has dropped the academical denomination of student, has been enrolled among the working members of the service, and been gazetted to an appointment at a Mofussil Station. He must now leave the pleasant English society of Calcutta, and it may be banish himself for a time from the haunts of civilization. Few however regret the change except in so far

as it separates them from those friends whom they hold dear; and a few sigh inconsolably for the delights which they have abandoned. "Cribbed, cabined and confined" in Calcutta, the newly fledged assistant can now reduce to practice those dreamy visions of Magisterial life which he has been forming. Here too, although under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate and officially in his charge, he first begins to realize the idea of independence, and has the opportunity first afforded him of shaping out a course of his own. His sphere of usefulness, formerly confined by regulation to "within a radius of five miles from Government House," is now extended over a district whose limits are counted by tens not units of miles, and whose inhabitants are numbered by thousands. Still life in the Mofussil is not without its disadvantages as well as its recommendations. Routine prevails there as well as in Calcutta. The occurrences that generally come under the cognizance of the resident at an out-station are frequently of the same monotonous character, and may, unprofitably employed, tend to narrow the mind and views of those who experience them. "Our station" may become the all-absorbing topic, the be-all and the end-all of life; nay it is impossible to deny that the deprivation of social privileges and solitariness which often accompany Mofussil life, have led to results on which it is painful to reflect, and have originated a class of sins, which happily are now sensibly diminished, and may gradually become extinct. Still, with all its solitariness, ~~how~~ universally is the Mofussil preferred to the City. How few exchange even the routine of Cutcherry for the drudgery of the Secretariat; how few abandon the solitary freedom of the out-station, for the fascinating restraints of Calcutta society.

The duties of an assistant at a Mofussil station are so well known as scarcely to require to be specified, much less enlarged on. Suffice it to say generally, that such minor cases as usually may be seen at an English Police Court, are those which daily come under his cognizance for trial and decision. He may be deputed by the Magistrate to investigate a serious case or write a report from papers furnished him; he may be sent into the interior of his district on duty, or he may retain charge of the office in the absence of the Magistrate, but as is natural, the sphere allotted for his operations is at first small and contracted. We will suppose him arrived at his station, introduced to the residents, waited on by the native officials, and eager to enter Cutcherry and commence business. The first day on which the assistant attends Cutcherry is one not easily forgotten. The report spreads amongst the officials that the new *sahib* is going to begin work—to take the first plunge in the Rubicon of business, and forthwith all the hangers on about Court crowd to witness his in-

stallation. Let us just glance for a moment at the scene. First of all comes the principal actor, the assistant himself, seated, not exactly on a throne of 'royal state, which far excells the wealth of Ormuz or of Ind,' but on a raised platform of common wood, striving to look around with nonchalant air, putting on the "robur et triplex aes" of assurance, hurriedly calling to mind the shreds and patches of his Calcutta Bengali, but inwardly dreading the ordeal of his first case—conscious that he is being mentally weighed in the balances by every one present, and yet fruitlessly endeavouring to persuade himself that he will not be found wanting in the estimation of his self-constituted valuers—feeling for the first time in reality that the expression "qualified for the public service" is a broken reed, and the Calcutta examination a delusion and a snare. Around him, and within the favored circle of the official platform, sit or stand the sleek velvet-tongued Amlah, "much condemned to have an itching palm, to sell and mart their offices 'for gold," watching with interested feelings the first impressions of the assistant, who, they fondly hope, will become their future ward. Without stand the mooktyars or pleaders, legitimate descendants of Belial, skilled to make the worse appear the better reason, mentally calculating the amount of fees they may exact from unsuspecting and deluded clients, on the ground of the Sahib's falsely represented partiality or inclination in their favor; while around and throughout the Cutcherry stand "the many," an unsavoury crowd, attracted chiefly for the sake of gossip, and little caring or seeming to care what influence the new hakim may cast on their interests.

Business is commenced. A case of assault is called; the plaintiff and his witnesses step to the bar, and mumble over the solemn declaration prescribed by regulation. Depositions expressly ordered to be written down in the presence of the presiding officer, make their appearance with wonderful rapidity from behind his back, and are read or hurriedly gabbled over by the head mohurrir; a faint attempt at cross-examination is made by the unpractised assistant; the depositions are finished, and much to his surprise the case is terminated for the day. The defendant's side is not forthcoming, orders if necessary are given to summon the accused; this order is recorded—the papers signed and laid aside—and a second case, probably a *facsimile* of the first, begun, heard, and terminated at a similar stage of advancement. In due process of time, i. e. when the assistant has forgot all the particulars of the case, the defendants appear, and their answer to the charge seems as conclusively established as was the accusation of the plaintiff against them. This produces a reference to notes, or the previous papers of the case—these are

looked over afresh, and the case awaits only the final award of the assistant. At first generally his decision is not given without deep and long consideration. He very likely takes the papers home with him and tries, by reading the details anew, to make up his mind as to the sentence which he shall pronounce. Sometimes he is mercifully disposed by some palliating circumstances which he fancies he can detect on the defendant's side, at other times inclined to punish from a conviction of the truth of the plaintiff's statement; wavering he remains, till at last, although with many qualms of conscience as to the justness of his award, he comes to a conclusion, and proceeds to pass sentence of acquittal or condemnation.

Such is the cutcherry life of the assistant. One day's work illustrates the work of every day, and this is the school in which he is supposed to gain the experience which will fit him to enter on and perform the arduous duties of the Magistrate. Small as is the sphere in which he is engaged, many lessons are patent to any one who wishes to read and profit by them. In an English police court a man is brought up before the Magistrate on a charge of assault, the witnesses are produced and examined, and the accused is called on for his defence. He may deny the facts. Such is rarely the case, but in many instances he is compelled by the sheer force of circumstances to admit the truth of the accusation. Such a phenomenon as the confession of an accused party in a petty case, is seldom if ever witnessed in the Bengal Courts. To judge by the nature of the cases and procedure in Court, the amount of innocence injured or malice gratified there, is indeed wonderful, painful to contemplate. Each party seems to have made good his own statement differing diametrically from that of his opponent; the amount of truth or falsehood on both sides seems equibalanced; fraud or perjury may sometimes be detected, but in small cases affording few salient points by which the consistency of a lie might be tested, to our shame be it said the decision must often be given at comparative haphazard. The story of the Judge retiring from cutcherry and determining a case in his antechamber by the highest throw of the dice, is most probably mythical, but carries nevertheless a germ of truth concealed beneath. The Bengalees, by long practice in deceit, have certainly acquired the art of simulating truth to perfection. Every false proposition is so artfully propped up on every side by lies, all resembling truth, that the whole statement, perfected in falsity, defies in most instances criticism or detection. Truth according to the old proverb lies at the bottom of a well, and assuredly, our civil administrators, notwithstanding the assistance of all Regulations, Acts, Con-

structions, and Circular Orders, have failed to detect or reach her hiding place in the heart of the Bengali.

The constitution of the Courts no doubt tends to propagate rather than counteract the evil. We do not mean to deny that the native character is so essentially addicted to lying and deceit, that however good the Courts were, the same obstacles to justice would prevail, although to a limited and modified extent.

It has been well remarked that however well the natives of India be treated, their natural oriental duplicity can never be wholly eradicated, and the English love of truth, manliness and straightforwardness infused into their minds; they never can become, notwithstanding all exertions, "black-faced Englishmen." Naturally and hereditarily a clever and ingenious race they have degenerated into an unprincipled and cunning people. Of old, if we may judge by records, active and energetic, they have now become a by-word for indolence and effete-ness; formerly practising their religion in its anciently pure and strict form, they have gradually sunk lower and lower till they have now no religion at all, or a form of one, which, scouted and rejected by all thinking members of their society, is only kept up from worldly and interested motives. Yet amid all changes in their history they have preserved their character for duplicity intact, and such seems to be the force of custom that it is often doubtful whether their natural inclinations do not lead them rather to the tortuous paths of dissimulation and falsehood than to the straightforward road of uprightness and truth. No doubt many bright examples of excellence and virtue might be pointed out as proofs of the contrary, but these are few, and from their paucity we are sorrowfully inclined to believe that they form the exception not the rule.

Knowing then the inclinations and natural propensities of the people with whom they had to deal, our administrators have devised a code of laws, and introduced a system of procedure, which panders to all their vices, without attempting to draw forth or elevate any one of those good qualities which they may have been supposed to possess. In our English law books the law is considered and represented as the instrument by which aggrieved parties are enabled to procure a certain and adequate redress for injuries. In Bengal the law, in the opinion of the great masses of the people, affords not the means to obtain redress for injury, but the easiest opportunity to inflict wrong, the great channel to gratify revenge or ruin a neighbour. One great defect in the native character is their tendency to procrastination, and want of immediate determination in execution; they possess the "*suaviter in modo*," but are

sadly deficient in the "fortiter in re;" they invert the proverb, and say 'leave till to-morrow whatever need not be done to-day.' In this procrastinating tendency our Courts out-Herod Herod, and cause even the dilatory and delay-loving Bengalees to lament the tardiness of justice, or at all events of law. We English pride ourselves on our love of straightforward dealing, and pity the love of intricacy and tergiversation which characterise the oriental, and yet we have encircled our legal procedure by a labyrinth of forms and technicalities, which serve but to screen the offender and hide the designs of the false witness and suborner. Again a native has proverbially the reputation of having an itching palm; the "auri sacra fames" is strong within him, and our system, instead of attempting to counteract or suppress this evil tendency, by nominally asking Court officials to live respectably on pittance lower than the salaries given to menial servants virtually compels them to resort to unfair means to eke out a subsistence. A poor man, it is well known, will rather submit to an injury he has received than complain at the thanna or at the Sudder Station. He truly remarks, "I live by my trade, and cannot afford to absent myself and neglect business during the time required to prosecute my suit; I am a poor man and cannot spare money to fee a Mooktyar and bribe the Amlah—if I persevere in my suit, I shall get in to debt to pay these harpies; much better, then, suffer the loss of a few rupees from my enemy than be unmercifully fleeced by my seeming friends." Consequently the cases which generally come into cutcherry are either those in which the parties have secured the co-operation of the Amlah by a *douceur*,—cases which may be gained, or those in which they persevere without bribing these officials—cases which will generally be lost. This is a melancholy confession but none the less true for being so. The Magistrate and his subordinate officers may be active and energetic and do their duty well, but the idea sprang up of old in the native mind, and tradition has handed it down to their descendants, that the Amlah is the middleman through whom all business must be transacted, and whose good will it is of even greater importance to secure than that of the hakim himself. No case we may safely say ever comes direct to the Magistrate or the assistant. The Sherishtadar who allows it to be placed on the roll, the Peshkar who reads, and the Mohurri who writes, the depositions, must all first be consulted and appeased. From their houses, and with their deceitful counsel on his lips and in his memory, the complainant comes into Court, and tells his tale. To them during the progress of the case he again and again repairs, and trusts implicitly in their promises to represent his matter in such a light to the hakim, as will procure a



judgment in his favor. This middleman-tendency however is not confined to the Courts alone, but obtains universally among all classes, and in all circumstances. The ryots of an Indigo factory have the same feelings towards the gomashas, and other native subordinates whom the planter is obliged to employ, and it seems an inherent tendency in the Asiatic mind to avoid direct communication with principals and trust to the ministration of agents to attain their object.

The Amlah in our Courts are certainly a baneful institution ; if we want reform there, and who speaks now of any thing but reform, we must begin with them. It is all very well to get up an agitation by a reduction of Covenanted Civil Salaries, by this expedient save annually a few thousand rupees, and then say, see we have accomplished a reform, a radical change ; but this mode of procedure, as it affects only a small class and produces no perceptible amelioration of the condition of the people at large, will neither improve our Courts nor render them more popular than they are now. The great aim should be to bring justice home to every man's door ; by our system we have removed it to an unapproachable distance. One of the chief causes of this evil lies, we believe, in the conduct of the native Court officials, and to their improvement should the first measures of reform be directed. We have lately seen educated young natives, graduates of the Calcutta University, promoted all at once to Deputy Magistracies and Collectorships, but education seems to be considered only applicable to, and essential for, the higher grades of officials, and to be looked upon as a qualification altogether unsuited to the subordinate Court Amlah. Such a view is certainly erroneous. We need educated men in the office as well as on the bench ; the business of the Cutcherry requires as able heads to perform it as are needed to decide the cases usually brought before subordinate Deputy Magistrates and Collectors, and we feel assured, if the Courts were gradually weeded of the old half-educated bands of Amlah, and step by step filled with young educated natives, that the complaints against the character of Court officials would perceptibly diminish, and the course of justice be freed from many of those obstacles, which at present impede it. It must be evident to all who have had opportunities of observing the effect of European education on the native mind, that a higher tone is thereby imparted to the character of those who receive it, that a channel is opened into which they may direct those mental energies which they possess, instead of perverting them as is usual from lack of knowledge, and that they strive more and more to deserve the confidence, which is, as it were, intuitively placed in the educated rather than the ignorant man. It is often objected that an English education

has an injurious rather than a beneficial effect on the Native mind, and in one sense the objection is valid. Snatterers will always exist in every class, and such knowledge, nourishing false ideas in the native mind, may often do more harm than is occasioned by positive ignorance, but a substantially founded education, which is now open to all and embraced by many, can never, we believe,—and experience confirms this belief—induce evil rather than good. If those young graduates of the University, who are now being sent into the Mofussil as Deputy Magistrates, were first attached to the Courts as Amlah, paid respectfully, and subsequently, if advisable, promoted to the higher grades, not only would their efficiency in the latter capacity be increased tenfold from experience gained in their previous career, but as Amlah they would materially purify the character of the Mofussil Courts, and render them other than they are now, a by-word amongst those whom they were intended to serve, for inefficiency and corruption.

But not only does this evil reputation which attaches to our Mofussil Courts render their name generally hated; it prevents much good being done extra-judicially among the people. A good Magistrate does not fancy himself always seated on the bench or dispensing justice in Cutcherry. He would like sometimes to unbend, to mingle on friendly terms with all classes in his district, to hear their views and opinions as between man and man, and thus to become acquainted with the prevalent tone and spirit of his district, which he feels can never be ascertained while openly clothed in his official dignity. In law it is said the king never dies, and so to the mind of the Bengali, the Magistrate, the sovereign of the district, whether in cutcherry or out of cutcherry, is ever the same—ever surrounded by the lictors and fasces of office, ever a man more to be feared than loved, always living in an atmosphere of summonses, warrants and subpoenas, whose baneful influence must sedulously be avoided. He goes out into the interior of his district and attempts suavely to enter into conversation with some of the ryots. Sometimes they show eagerness to approach him; but this is generally the case, when, prefacing their story by the loud and vehement cry of “Dohai, Dohai,” they pour forth volubly a tale of grievances and injuries sustained by them from a neighbour against whom they complain—a tale sometimes true, always exaggerated, too often feigned and false. They cannot apparently comprehend that the hakim can possibly question them without reference to his official capacity, and their fertile imagination immediately conjures up every conceivable motive but the right one for his conduct. Perhaps he may have heard of some of their former peccadilloes, the remembrance of which sticks

in their throat, and he wishes to incriminate them from their own conversation; perhaps he has sinister intentions against some of their relatives, and is striving to elicit information from them against the latter; with these and a thousand other baseless *peradventures* in their minds, they immediately suspect him of some covert design to bring them into his Court, and accordingly wilily attempt to mislead him or evade his questions. Such has been found to be the result of endeavours to mingle amongst the ryots of a district. There may have been defects on the official's side in attempting to do so—no doubt such existed. He may not in all cases have been able to render his ideas intelligible to others, he may have misunderstood those of the natives themselves. Still taking this into consideration, the impression has remained, that there existed some undefined fear in the mind of those with whom he was conversing, which seemed abruptly to shut their mouths, and render them chary of giving utterance to their ideas. They seemed indeed to consider the Magistrate as a terror to evil-doers, but apparently did not see or understand the application of the second clause, that he was, "a praise and protection to them that do well."

In different circumstances no such unwillingness or repugnance is manifested. Indigo planters have been decried as oppressors, and their ryots held up as miserable specimens of suffering humanity, crushed under the despotism of their masters, and filled with no very friendly feelings towards them. It may be so—those who have supported such opinions may have had better data than we, from which to form a conclusion. All that we feel bound to say on this subject is that our experience warrants no such inference. The poor suffering ryots of an Indigo factory certainly seem much more inclined to mingle and converse with their persecutors, than to approach those who nominally stand between the oppressor and oppressed. We have often visited Factory cutcherries, and longed to be able to dispense justice with as much speed and satisfaction to all parties concerned as obtains there; we have witnessed the confidence with which the ryots approached, related their grievances, and obtained redress—a confidence strangely and strongly contrasted with the repugnance with which official endeavours in similar cases were encountered, and the thought arose in our minds that there must be some hidden agency at work which has produced this coldness between the great masses of the people and their legal protectors. The cause, we have stated above, we believe to lie in the fact that the natives, having either personally experienced the hardships of our Courts or heard of them by report, and having naturally a tendency to look upon officials of all classes as in some way

or other the originators of those evils, gradually have arrived at the conclusion that intercourse with the latter may more prudently be avoided than courted, should be shunned rather than encouraged.

Unfavourable however as have been our first impressions of the Courts hitherto, we are by no means inclined to side with those who take a pride in cavilling at all institutions which are not framed exactly in accordance with their views, and who maintain that our present system is no better than were the native Courts of old. Our Courts, we grant, are not pure, but their corruption, springs not, as we have remarked, entirely from the defects of their constitution, but from an inherent perversion of the native mind, which is not a creation of yesterday. In olden times, as is well known, Judges as well as Amlah were corrupt; were a sufficient inducement held out, the presiding officer could be gained over, equally with his satellites. This abuse we can safely say we have rendered obsolete. The native officials, i. e. the lower officers of Court, are still notoriously venal, the bar is a by-word for rapacity and unscrupulousness, but the purity of the bench is seldom impugned. Granting all this, and allowing credit for the innovations and improvements we have introduced with our system, we do not consider that any valid excuse for the present condition of the Courts has been established. We would not wilfully or unduly disparage, still less do we feel inclined to "damn with faint praise." We must remember that we live in the 19th and not the 17th or 18th century, in times when knowledge and enlightenment profess to be far advanced. Is it not then beneath the dignity of our Government to measure what we have done for the benefit of India by any such standard as those praters about olden times propose? Should we not rather look to the future than to the past, rather resolutely contemplate what it is our duty to do, than look back with placid and passive self-satisfaction on what others, our inferiors, have failed to perform?

Our assistant, so far as we have hitherto seen him, has been employed in nothing higher than the decision of petty cases at a Mofussil Station. He has taken the first plunge in the Rubicon, but he has not yet reached the opposite shore. Two ordeals are impending over his head, which he must pass through ere he can ascend another step on the ladder of promotion, and exchange the name of Assistant for that of Magistrate. These are the so-called semi-annual Central Committee Examinations, directed by a board of examiners in Calcutta and presided over by a committee in the Mofussil, having as their professed object, to test the progress which subordinate officers are making towards attaining a thorough knowledge of

their duties. Let us suppose our assistant located at one of the minor stations of a Division. The summons issued by the Commissioner arrives, ordering him to attend at head quarters for the purpose of undergoing the examination. Forthwith Beaufort's Digest, and Ricketts' Cutcherry Guide come into great request, and are consulted by the candidate for "special powers" with an assiduity by no means common in previous months. He seeks to store his memory as he best can with facts from those useful hand-books, and tries to make up for past dilatoriness by vigorous though temporary exertion. At last the fated day arrives when Beaufort and Ricketts must be consigned to the book-shelf, and the last preparations for departure completed. Amid the hearty good wishes of his fellow residents he sets out upon his journey, and on arriving at his destination finds probably that the usually dull and formal head quarters of the Division have been enlivened by the arrival of several other youngsters from the surrounding districts, who, although nominally on other and graver thoughts intent, still contrive to kill dull care, and spend the time agreeably and cheerfully. Perhaps a pig-sticking or tiger-shooting party is organized; the lively spirits of the party join, enjoy their sport, and return all the better for the excitement, and none the less fitted to brave the terror of the examination room. At last work is begun. Our young friend enters the examination room, finds the most potent, grave and worthy signors, the examiners, arrayed in dignity before him, takes the place assigned, and commences studying the paper containing questions in the Foujdarry department, which is handed to him. He mentally invokes the aid of Beaufort, sets to work to answer the questions to the best of his ability, finishes the paper, and hands it back to the examiner. A similar set of questions on subjects connected with the Revenue Department of his duties, calls forth in like manner his knowledge of Ricketts.

Then comes, to the European, the severest portion of the ordeal—testing his knowledge of the vernacular language of his district. Suppose him a denizen of Lower Bengal. He must translate a tolerably difficult passage of English into Bengali, must read with comparative fluency copies of official documents, and converse with sufficient ease and intelligence both to understand and be understood by the native with whom he is ordered to converse. A couple of cases, such as ordinarily come under his cognizance, are then read over to test his acquaintance with the forms of office and his capability to estimate the value of conflicting evidence, he is required to write an ordinary rubacarry on each of these, and then his trials for the time are ended. The examination is closed, the papers of the various candidates collected, valued, and transmitted to the Calcutta Board;

the examiners look mysteriously grave when asked what verdict they have returned, and the young hopefuls disperse to their several stations with as much rapidity as they arrived, there to wait in suspense till the final award is promulgated. Such meetings are looked forward to with pleasure by all. The thought of the examination does not seem to enter much into the minds of the candidates, and certainly does not impair their spirits. The thought of leaving the routine of office for a time, and meeting again those friends from whose society the stern "rules for absence" debar them for at least the next six months; the prospect of making new acquaintances as well as reviving old friendships,—all tend to make the young assistants regard these examinational *réunions* as some of the pleasantest episodes in their introductory career.

Looked at in a practical point of view we cannot consider that these examinations fulfil the purpose for which they were instituted. They are doubtless better and more practical in their tendency than the ludicrous initiatory farce in Calcutta, but as a test for discovering the working capabilities of the assistant they are, we think, a failure. These capabilities can surely be better judged of by the officer who apportions him his duties and sees that he performs them, than by a committee of strangers, who can only find out whether he is intellectually qualified for those duties, and who trust in a great measure to the report of the Magistrate as to the actual amount of work done by the assistant and the manner in which it has been performed. The object of promoting the assistant at this stage of his career, is that, by taking cognizance of more serious cases than he has yet tried, he may efficiently relieve the Magistrate of some of the details of his office, and enable the latter to devote more time to important duties. Is not then the Magistrate the best judge as to whether the unpassed assistant is capable to relieve him of some portion of his duties, or will prove, if entrusted with such power, a burden rather than a relief? Let the Magistrate as in former times have the option of recommending his assistants for promotion, and we feel convinced that not only would the possession of this power increase the care and watchfulness of Magistrates over their assistants, but would rouse the latter by increased zeal and diligence to show themselves really of use to their superiors and thus deserve promotion. We are ourselves aware of several instances in which assistants have been efficient and hard working officers, yet have repeatedly failed to pass the required examination. They have been valued by the Magistrate, but found wanting by the examiner; and being thus remanded to inferior work, the details of which they had long ago mastered, have conceived a

repugnance to their duties which many years have not sufficed to eradicate, and which might have been counteracted, nay altogether avoided, by well-timed promotion founded on the basis of actual usefulness rather than mere amount of knowledge.

Let us suppose then this examination ordeal successfully passed by the young assistant. We behold him now gradually emerging from the limited sphere to which he was previously confined, and entering upon a line of more varied duties. His powers are now materially increased, the tedious and interminable repetition of "marpeet" cases no longer solely falls on his ear, he begins to look forward to the weightier matters of the law, and to decide more interesting and important cases. He is now alternately engaged in deciding the particulars of an affray, or puzzled by the intricacies of a land-dispute; his collectorate powers, which formerly were *nil*, enable him now to decide the so-called *summary* (Heaven save the mark!) suits, and he feels that Magisterial life is beginning in earnest. He has now got free from the leading-strings of law and is eager to exercise his newly acquired authority. Sometimes like the newly-fledged bird he may linger ere commencing his new career, distrustful of his own strength, but he generally proceeds with an alacrity which custom afterwards subdues, to prove the reality of his new powers. Woe to the culprit who, overtaken by Nemesis in an evil hour, comes before our newly empowered assistant! He has come before a Judge as unsparing as Minus or Rhadamanthus of old, and if he be found guilty, will find that he has to drink a full cup of retributive justice.

The months pass quickly away. The young officer's experience is increasing day by day, but the path is not yet clear before him. Another barrier still remains to be overcome, ere he can feel himself free from the trammels of his apprenticeship. The second trial before the examination committee still grimly overshadows, and opposes a bar to, his future progress. The same little episode at the Sudder Station which we have mentioned, again occurs. The same scene, which we have above described, is re-enacted, the only difference in the present case being that the young, specially-empowered assistant, aims at the "higher grade," and plays for the stake of full powers. The test is necessarily severer than was the first; the knowledge of principles, which was all that was necessary in the first examination, must now be supplemented by an accurate acquaintance with details; proficiency in a second language is also insisted on, the assistant's knowledge of office work is tested by his decisions in intricate and complicated cases, and he is not declared passed unless he fully satisfies the examiners of his thorough competency in all these various subjects. The short period which elapses between the actual exa-

mination and the publication of its results, is a period of anxious suspense to the candidate. Former examinations and their results were matter, if not of indifference, at least of comparative unimportance. Former successes, he felt, had only cleared but half his road, and but paved the way for new trials. Now however, this last obstacle once surmounted, the path lies clear before him. No examinations will have henceforth any terrors for him, no cramming of Acts and Regulations will strain his memory or ruffle his temper, Beaufort and Ricketts will henceforth be referred to as guides, not studied as text books; in short he will be enabled to plunge freely into Magisterial life without let or hindrance except what may proceed from his own incapacity to pursue his future career. No wonder then that a repulse, an unfavourable issue, should be more severely felt by one who has so nearly achieved his end, than by one who has just commenced and felt the first excitement of the struggle. Rarely does success attend the first attempt; in fact no 'full powers' can be granted to any assistant unless he has been exercising 'special' powers for one year previously. A year elapses, and unless our young friend be of the "multum agendo nihil agens" class, the expiration of that term sees him vested with the full powers of Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, qualified to perform the functions of a Magistrate, but unattached to any particular station.

Here, properly speaking, terminates the career of the assistant. That line he will soon drop, and subside into "our Joint," or receive an Acting Magistracy. Thither we do not presume to go over his career. We have viewed his progress *ab ovo*, the purport of the present Article prevents us going on *ad mala*; but between the two states of Assistant and Magistrate is a middle grade, in which our assistant is frequently found previous to his final or permanent promotion, viz., in charge of a Subdivision. In large districts where the influence of the Magistrate residing at the Sudder Station is not sufficiently diffused over the length and breadth of his Zillah, small outposts, embracing two or three Thannas, have been formed in the interior of the district, the duties of which are assigned to either Deputy Collectors, or not less frequently to Assistants, vested either with 'special' or 'full' powers. Posted to one of those minor stations, our young friend enters upon an entirely new sphere of duty. Accustomed previously, as a subordinate, merely to witness without being allowed to participate in the performance of the duties of Magistrate at the Sudder Station, he now finds himself in a Magisterial microcosm of his own, he has become the responsible head of an office, abandoned the mild soubriquet of *chota sahib*, and assumed the imposing title of *hakim*. The salaam of Court offi-



cials, always obsequious, becomes lower than ever; cases are now no longer made over to him by the Magistrate for report, but complaints are prepared directly before him; and he now first learns the pleasures of managing and having independent charge of a district. But along with the pleasures, come also the cares of independence; difficulties start up where to his unaccustomed eye all seemed plain and smooth before. The office contributes its share of impediments in the shape of accounts, statements, returns and reports, which, unless our friend's tastes incline to the Financial or Accountant General's department, he finds neither instructive nor agreeable. He is frequently plunged into embarrassments by the wily Amlah, simply to try his mettle, and enable them to exhibit their own skill; and doubtless amid all this labyrinth of work and intrigue the hired subdivisional officer sometimes sighs for the careless, irresponsible post of assistant, which he has quitted. Still he perseveres. Many an askance look passes between his Amlah on the promulgation by the Sahib of some anti-regulation order, which grates harshly on their ears; many a subdued hint do they quietly make pointing out a way of relief from some maze of confusion, in whose windings our young friend may have become entangled in cutcherry. Not unfrequently comes a letter from head-quarters criticising his proceedings, and tacitly conveying censure under the garb of "demanding an explanation." But all such difficulties daunt not the young aspirant for promotion, and manfully encountered, only serve to guide his inexperience, and perfect his training for future usefulness. Soon the way becomes plain. Those accounts and statements, formerly submitted 'longo intervallo' and often without particular attention to accuracy, soon, by practice, cease to bear that appearance of intricacy and confusion which they first presented; demands for explanations become few and far between; and by the time the assistant leaves the training school, he is prepared to encounter the more multifarious duties of the Magistrate without fear or embarrassment.

But apart from its worth as a training-school, the Subdivision is by no means destitute of the amenities of life. Subdivisional stations there are doubtless—and we have had experience of a few—appointment to which is viewed in the light of punishment rather than promotion; "remote, unfriendly, melancholy, slow"—in the hot weather a furnace, in the rainy season a swamp, without any apparent advantages natural or otherwise, to recommend them as permanent stations for Europeans. Still Government has not universally displayed such obliquity of vision, and to give it the credit which is justly due of having always consulted for the welfare of its servants, we ad-

mit that such purgatorial stations are the exception nor the rule, and subdivisional life in general forms no unpleasant episode in the assistant's career.

Fancy our friend removed from the social circle at the Sudder Station and established in solitary grandeur in his Mofussil home. The change is at first not a pleasant one. No social walks or rides, no enlivening games at racket or cricket, relieve now the monotony of morn and even. Time doubtless hangs often heavy on his hands, and he is in danger of falling a victim to the horrors of ennui. Still the Subdivision, although apparently a hermitage, possesses many external resources for rendering solitude bearable. Planted generally in closer proximity to the Mofussil residents' abodes than is the Sudder Station, it affords to the assistant frequent opportunities of driving dull care away by neighbourly visits amongst the surrounding Indigo planters and merchants. Enjoined by regulation "to be as much as possible on the move," and "to render himself accessible to all classes of people," our assistant finds but little difficulty in reconciling his tastes with his duty. He is essentially a bird of passage. At one time we meet him at the confines of his district diligently doing "cutcherry on horse-back," at another snugly quartered in some neighbouring factory, whence sallying forth he performs his official duties in his tent or budgerow. At a third we find him out on Collectorate duty, his tent curiously and by a strange coincidence pitched in a spot where game is abundant, and where amid severer toil the rifle or fowling piece may not remain unused in its case. Buffalo may be found and pursued, as well as boundaries marked out on the chura where he is engaged; a leopard may be roused amid the jungle surrounding a village whose limits he is defining; in the morning our friend may be seen laboriously wading through swamps in pursuit of the shrill-toned snipe, in the evening cautiously approaching the plover on the banks of an adjoining jheel, untired by cutcherry, and combining pleasurable excitement with severer and sterner duties. Many of the happiest days of an assistant's life are spent at the Subdivision; independence pleases, the roving life delights him. The hospitality of surrounding residents tends to compensate for the sociability of the Sudder Station of which he has been deprived, and it is not without feelings of regret that our friend receives his promotion, and abandons the place where his knowledge of duty began, to enter upon the duties of Magistrate at a regular station.

So far as we have hitherto gone in our sketch, we have considered only the official portion of the assistant's life; we have viewed him in cutcherry, or in the Mofussil at work and per-

forming the daily duties of his position. We do not however mean to insinuate,—indeed so inveterate are the prejudices of the profanum vulgus that we fear our insinuations would meet the same fate as the predictions of Cassandra of old—we do not insinuate that the life of the young civilian at a Mofussil station is one altogether of work, and continual devotion to duty. He is not presented to our view always encircled by Amlah, nor does the cutcherry constantly diffuse its dingy air around him. Now and then in our experience we have met with a *rara avis*, who finds apparently his home in the cutcherry rather than the bungalow, who never seems happy unless adjudicating cases, peering into worm-eaten records, examining or signing multifarious documents, casting up or detecting flaws in accounts, whose whole talk is of this *roobacarry* or that ‘circular order,’ and whose *tout ensemble* and physiognomy bear an expression as sallow and musty as the records over which he delights to pore. Such, however, is not the general character of the assistant. However much he may enjoy performing duty in the Mofussil, the sedentary cutcherry life in the Sudder Station possesses for him no peculiar charms, the close of office he finds rather a relief than otherwise. The record room with all its paraphernalia is his abhorrence, and is only visited on such high occasions as the arrival of Judge or Commissioner, on their usual tour of inspection. ‘*Nec semper arcum tendit Apollo*,’ is his motto, and he finds regulation cutcherry hours ample time to gratify his taste for legal lore, or improve his acquaintance with Mofussil justice.

Among the other residents of the station our assistant occupies a distinct position. He is considered by all a social Mark Tapley warranted to remain ‘*jolly*’ under all circumstances, and expected to make himself ‘generally useful’ on all occasions calculated to promote the sociability of the station. The Magistrate’s family may not be on good terms with that of the Judge. The ‘Chutneys’ may pooh-pooh the idea of such people as the ‘Mangoes’ being in society. Such trifles trouble not our assistant, he turns a deaf ear to their mutual recrimination and petty scandals, and pursues the even tenor of his way without mixing in such inglorious contentions. Various duties seem to be considered as special perquisites of an assistant’s position. Is there a Book Club at our station? The assistant, having recently arrived from Calcutta, is presumed *au fait* and familiar with all the latest arrivals of new and interesting books; he is forthwith elected a Member of the Book Club Committee *nem con*, and shortly after, as an additional mark of confidence, complimented by induction into the office of Secretary. He has lately undergone a series of examinations in the metropolis, and his services are

at once considered indispensable in the Local Committee of Public Instruction, where, converted into an examiner, he shows his zeal in the educational department of the public service by diligently 'visiting' and 'inspecting' a Bengali school. His "taste for accounts" is insidiously inquired into and tested, visions of comfortable berths or the secretariat float before his eyes, but alas for the vanity of human wishes! his training must be initiated by taking charge of our mutton club or our station-book accounts. On the occurrence of any demonstration or festive occasion our friend's services are urgently in request; in short his name is taken in its literal acceptation under all circumstances, and he is, nolens volens, converted into a social martyr, and dubbed permanent coadjutor and assistant in promoting the sociability of 'our station.'

The history of one day's life at a Mofussil station generally embodies the experience of every day, and the *modus vivendi* of the assistant presents no peculiar or different characteristics from that of the other residents. A rapid glance will suffice for our purpose. In the morning our friend is no sluggard, no inveterate votary of Morpheus, but a true believer in the old proverb 'anent' early rising and its healthful consequences. Gladly escaping from night punkahs, mosquitoes, mosquito curtains et hoc genus omne, he, nothing loth, prepares to brace his nerves for the remainder of the day by a good gallop on his favorite stud, or an invigorating and freshening walk. Generally fond of horse flesh, he may turn his taste to some use in his morning rides; he may inspect a road, or investigate a case at a distance, or in default of any such opportunity of showing his zeal for the public service, he may, in a rattling run with his dogs after a jackal, or in a quiet canter with a friend, find excitement and amusement more congenial to his tastes, and equally conducive to health. 'Chota Hazri' on his return is discussed with a relish which only those who follow our friend's example can know; top boots and riding costume are doffed, a *négligé* attire assumed, the soothing pipe or cheroot diffuses its fragrant smoke around, the contents of the *dâk bag* examined, and, the morning meal over, the assistant prepares for cutcherry. During the day he is invisible to all but the denizens of his Court, and at four o'clock re-appears again in civilized society. With what a feeling of relief does he hear the last case called, and the welcome words 'kachari hogaya' pronounced! With hasty review and quickened step he abandons rhyats, *amlahs*, *mooktyars*, and repairs to his own bungalow there to concoct measures for spending the evening. Does he adjourn from cutcherry to the study, and there in converse with the mighty dead strive to pass the time till the lengthening shadows betoken the approach of evening's dark successor, night? We

may certainly conceive of an assistant in whom the desire of learning, the sacred fire, has not been quenched by interminable examinations; we may conceive of him dwelling apart, eschewing the sports of the field, and walking, like the Usher in Eugene Aram, a solitary man. Far be it from us to disparage the love of learning, which can successfully withstand the uselessness and inertia produced by an Indian climate; still we doubt whether to the great majority of young assistants, the culture of the Muse, the glories of Sanskrit, or the beauties of Persian, possess so much charm as a good game at racket, cricket or quoits. The climate, his duties, position, and all, militate against the probability of our assistant becoming one of the literati of the country. Fatigued during the day with cutcherry, his eyes dimmed with perusing documents, and the monotonous chant of the Sheristadar still ringing in his ears, it is little to be wondered at if our friend, eschewing the grave pleasures of the study, dons his cricketing costume, and repairs with the other residents to "the ground." We were always an enthusiastic cricketer, and although during our sojourn here we have often sighed to see again a match at Lord's, we must admit that a scratch match at an Indian station affords much more field for amusement, although science be ignored. The very severity of the exercise enhances its pleasure, and although certain prejudiced individuals who, we are sure, never handled a bat, hint seemingly at the folly of making a toil of a pleasure, we still remain of opinion that such manly sports moderately indulged are preferable to overworking the brain, and thus playing into the hands of our enemy, the climate, by impairing our physical ability to withstand its attacks.

In the racket court, or cricket ground, our assistant is not a mere idle spectator, but an eager and willing player. He directs the ball skilfully, wields the bat dexterously; no longer obliged to twist his throat in vain attempts to pronounce the guttural and nasal Bengali, he vociferates lustily in his mother tongue; his official inertia has disappeared as if by magic, and as we look at his eager attitude, watching every movement of the player's arm, every twist of the ball or turn of the bat, we almost fail to recognize our cutcherry-tired friend. Cricket over, our assistant having sacrificed to the graces, joins the social party assembled on the *bund*, which usually serves as the *Mall* in a Mofussil station, or again mounting his stud enjoys a canter with a friend, till warned by the dispersion of the assembled company that the day is drawing to a close, he turns his horse's head homewards, and there, alone or with some favored *chums*, enacts the last scene of his experience for the day.

Such is, in general, the life of the assistant at a Mofussil Station. Here we leave him. We have seen a novice gradually ascend-

ing the ladder of promotion, we have viewed him at work in his cutcherry or on duty in the Mofussil ; and here, leaving him amid the quiet of the Sudder Station, reposing after his labors, we conclude our sketch. May he not rest contented with the knowledge he has gained in the outset of his career, but may the first experience of his apprenticeship serve to guide and direct him amid the intricacy and complicity of his future duties.

ART. IV.—1. *Punjaub Reports.*2. *CUNNINGHAM'S Sikhs.*3. *Unpublished Oriental Manuscripts.*

MANY years ago, when the *Calcutta Review* was still young and we were so also, when the Sikhs were our deadliest enemies, and the Sepoy of Oudh and Bhojpore our sword and shield, we forwarded a contribution on "The Countries betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna," the most Easterly provinces of the Sikh nation. Driven onwards by a wind from the East, we settled in that fair province betwixt the Beas and the Sutlej and recorded our impressions in a contribution under the name of "The Jhelundhur Doab." Ten years have elapsed since then, and wrought a wondrous change in our position. Like the seven sleepers, we rub our eyes as if awaking from a dream, for we find that our friends and foes have changed places, and that we are holding the Punjaub with the assistance of Sikhs against those who helped us to conquer it.

By a mere chance, by the fancy of a great man, by a fatality of circumstances, we find ourselves again among a people whom we loved so well, and in a position to study the character of the residents, and visit the great cities of that rich and unrivalled tract which lies betwixt the Chenab and the Beas, the original Sikh land, the cradle of the faith, the nursery of the chivalry of the followers of the Guru. This tract, containing three millions of men and more than five thousand villages, from the commencement of our rule until the present year composed the great Lahore Division. But now a Jeroboam has sent away two tribes from the skirts of Rehoboam, the ancient limits have ceased to exist, and the sentences which we now string together are a panegyric of one that has departed.

Under the Punjaub system of Government the limits of a Commission, or what in France would be called a Prefecture or Department, are necessarily more narrow than in the Bombay Presidency, where a Commission comprises one-half, and under the Agra Government one-fifth, of the whole Presidency, for the union of the Judicial and Executive in one office renders it necessary. The Lahore Division was ever the smallest in area, but it was populous, rich, studded with villages, and inhabited by a martial population; in wealth and population it was about one-fourth of the Punjaub, and in the piping days of peace which succeeded the decadence of Runjeet Singh's upstart dynasty, the people increased and multiplied, cultivation extended, towns expanded, all the affairs of mankind trebled

and quadrupled, the burden on one man's shoulders of controlling all became intolerable, and one of the last acts of the Court of Directors was to order the sub-division.

But in truth it was a glorious country, sloping down from the everlasting snow-capped mountains to the frowning desert, intersected by vast rivers, rich in corn and sugar and oil, revelling in plenty, overflowing with population, proud of its royal cities and its numberless villages, proud of its stalwart and sturdy people, who were at the same time great in arms and agriculture, with hands, like Cincinnatus, good for the sword or the plough. They were no effete race with only the faint tradition of the actions of their remote ancestors: within the memory of man they had had a living faith, a vivid nationality, and an independent kingdom. Fortune was against them, for they came into collision with a race, not more brave, but more perfectly furnished with the appliances of war; but they submitted not abjectly, nor without a struggle.

The great city of Lahore had from time immemorial been the seat of Empire. It was no obscure conglomeration of huts, scattered here and there under palm-trees, with a row of thatched shops, such as suffices for a town and the head quarters of a station in the jungle of Bengal. It was a great city before Mahmood crossed the Indus, it had become greater under the Mahomedans. It is still girt with red brick walls, gateways, and fortifications presenting, with its one hundred thousand inhabitants and lofty houses, the appearance of old Rome, or one of the mediæval free cities of the German Empire. Tradition has it, that the twin sons of the great Rama, sovereign of Ayodya, Kusa and Labo founded two cities, and called them after their names Kussoca and Lahore; in that case Alexander must have stood within her walls. To the end of last century the city was vaguely known in Europe as "Lahore of the Great Mogul," never visited by European, but connected with Delhi by a royal road, marked at intervals by lofty Kos Minars, and magnificent serais.

On the side of the city, overhanging the river Ravee, is the royal fortress, built in all the stateliness of Agra and Delhi, a palace and an arsenal, with the "Deewan Am" for public, and "Deewan Khass" for private reception, ranges of apartments for the seraglio, bastions and gateways decorated in the ornate style of the Imperial period; and from the highest point is commanded a sweet prospect of the Ravee, winding through the rich and verdant low lands, with the lofty minarets of the tomb of Jehangheer at Shahderuh. But in truth the modern city covers but a tithe of the space occupied by the homes and gardens, tombs and mosques of the ancient city, and for five miles on the road towards the Shalimar gardens lie scattered the ruined dome



and crumbling arch, which had been raised by some proud but unknown Mahomedan, to mark his empty state, or record a tale of idle love.

Such is Lahore—a city with a pedigree of centuries, one of the memorial cities of the world. Within thirty miles has sprung up in the last century a new city, the child of religion and commerce, exceeding Lahore in population, rivalling her in splendour, and holding a position in the commercial Republic of India, which Lahore never attained; in spite of the distance of twelve hundred miles from the sea, corresponding direct with Paris and London, the seat of a manufacture peculiar to herself, except to that happy valley of which she is the entrepot; having relations of exchange with every city of note in the whole Peninsula, and enjoying with but a limited number the honour of being a "Mart." Such is Amritsur, the child of the Sikh faith, which has thriven amidst the decadence of empire, the confusion of civil war, the assaults of foreign invasion; to whom every event appears to bring some advantage, for the fall of the nationality and religion of the Sikhs hurt her not, the sack of Delhi has brought her hundreds of fresh citizens, and the opening out of new lines of road brings her new commerce, and promises a boundless extension. Within one year the Railway will connect her with Lahore, and another decade will see her connected with an iron chain with Delhi on the Jumna, and Mooltan on the waters which unite in the Indus.

Let us now take a survey of those provinces, of which these cities are the twin capitals and markets. From Amritsur the lofty ranges of the Himalaya are visible at a distance of eighty miles, but, if we travel northwards, the grandeur of the scenery develops itself at every stage, and at any part on the line of thirty miles from the mountains the scene is one which words cannot describe. All the grandest views of Alpine scenery in Europe dwindle into nothing, for here on a clear day after rain we have before our eyes an extent of eternal snow, reaching from Peer Pingal, the entrance of the valley of Cashmeer, to the distant snowy ranges in the kingdom of Busahir behind Simlah. Range towering above range, of varying altitude and broken outline, rising up sometimes in sheer precipice to sixteen thousand feet, and cutting the horizon with a broad even ridge: at other points, where the rivers at the time of the great primordial cataclysm have forced themselves through in deep channels, we look, as it were, into the bowels of the mountain kingdom, through transverse ranges, as far as solitary snow-capped peaks, the position of which wears the intellect to imagine. Still it is something to think that only fifteen years ago the quiet and calculating Briton bought, and sold, those vast mountains

for a sum which appears paltry. As far as the Ravee we retained some thousand square miles under our own rule, because they were there, and from the Ravee up to Bokhara and Yarkund, regions unknown to the Surveyor and never trodden by the feet of men who make maps, we handed over to the uncontrolled rule of a successful intriguer on the condition that he paid the lordly tribute of five goats, which has since been commuted into three pairs of long Cashmeer shawls for Her Gracious Majesty. The majestic mountains look on contemptuously as they are thus passed from hand to hand, for they may defy all the powers of the earth to extract one Rupee from their surface, or to cross over their unapproachable heights.

Enthroned on one of the lower ranges in the mountain, betwixt the Ravee and the Chenab, is the hill town and fortress of Jummoo, which the craft and fortune of one man have converted into the capital of a kingdom large enough in area to swallow up the narrow limits of many a European Potentate. When the Rebellion of 1857 was at its worst, ere Delhi had fallen, when the wisest were pondering which side should be taken, the crafty old fox had to obey a messenger who brooks no answer, and who cannot be outwitted; and, as his army descended to lend doubtful assistance to the assaulters of Delhi, the old Raja felt his kingdom depart from him; all his schemes, his deceits, his secret murders, his cruelties, his unlimited and scarcely appreciable wretchedness did not save our honourable ally, and the sceptre passed into the hand of one born in the purple, one who has never known the hard experiences of life. We saw him last winter in all the bravery of his Court, his elephants with silver howdas, his troops, guns, and all the external ceremonials. The youth sat in his father's hall in the silver chair of state, and around him and behind him were the pillars of his state, the nobles of his clan, distinguished by the heron's plumes in their turbans. He himself, in the splendour of his appearance, the nobility of his look, the dignity of his manner, seemed not unworthy of the place, and by his side sat his only son still a child, the heir of his throne. At sunset, as the bells of the temples sounded for the evening sacrifice, he rose from his seat, and stood till the solemn moments had passed. Some remarked that on this occasion, as on all, in his rich girdle he wore an English double-barrelled pistol of the simplest manufacture, and no doubt the most approved make; the wonder ceases, when we hear that a few days later his life was attempted, and one of the intended assassins was his own half-brother, who stood on this occasion respectfully behind his chair, and was yet in league with his first cousin, the only other male but one of the family. Such are

native dynasties, whether founded on long hereditary right, or built up by the talents and crimes of one individual. The sovereignty of Cashmeer may to-morrow be again in the market, and is a source of weakness, instead of strength, to the great Government which sold five millions of men for so many bags of silver to create it.

But let the spectator turn his back on the mountains, and look out on the wide territory spread before him: let him transport himself to the sacred heights of Tricotra, and, sharpening his sight by imagination, grasp in the whole of the tract which it is our object in these lines to describe. No such kingdom met the enraptured gaze of the prophet from the top of Mount Pisgah: no such promised land fell into the possession of the followers of Moses, as this which just one hundred years ago was partitioned among the twelve Misuls, or tribes, of the Khalsa, the followers of Guru Govind. From the mountains to the distant desert slopes down the rich and fertile land, teeming with villages and towns, with men and cattle, with cereals, oils and saccharines, with dyes and cottons. From the mountains, supplied from the eternal fountains of snow flow forth the Vipasa, the Airavati and the Chandra Bhaga, into which a hundred streams, not known to fame, drain their over-abundant waters. Well may the ignorant rustic strive to conciliate the favour, or appease the wrath of these river gods; well may he offer up at the shrine of Noah to whom he blindly attributes power over inundations, for his cattle and his homestead are at the capricious mercy of the river, which one year causes him to laugh and sing while he contemplates the fatness of his land, at another carries away his home, his oxen, his groves and his acres, and scatters them miles along his silvery course, while the owner appeals to all his gods in vain.

Within a line of forty miles from the mountains is such richness of soil, such cultivation, both in highlands, along the dorsal ridges of the tracts betwixt the rivers, and in the lowlands within the affluence of their waters, as the rest of India may equal, but not surpass. A sturdy and strong race have made the most of their opportunities, have by wells compelled the earth to give out water from her bowels, and let it percolate along the surface. And in the country betwixt the Beas and Ravee art has lent her assistance, and as by the process of ages since the day when the Ravee first issued from the mountains, her bed has deepened under the attrition of the current, and her waters now flow so far below the surface as to be useless for irrigation, the skill of the engineer has not been wanting to seal up her mouth, to direct her course into new channels. Flung, like a silver necklace strung with pearls, from mountains to de-

sert, winds the beauteous Huslee—strong without rage, full without overflowing, deep and rapidly rushing, overhung with foliage and trees like the Jordan, fringed with luxuriant crops, and beautiful peeps of truly English scenery. Gardens spring up along its course, groves planted on its banks look green, their leaves do not wither, nor do their fruits in due season fail. But like scenes that are brightest, like beauty that is fairest, it perishes this year, and gives way to the giant limbs, and broad, lazy, but regulated flow of the new canal. Bridged, fettered, regulated, the wild waters of the Ravce are subdued, and made to answer like a horse to the bridle, to go whither they are told, to be stored up where they are ordered, to keep an even depth, to be doled out, like grain, by the measure, and to carry burdens like a pack horse. A bridled stream is the greatest triumph of man, for no longer can it with capricious course eat away villages and overwhelm the ripening harvest, no longer waste its fertilizing waters and perplex and irritate the husbandman. A Canal is a greater triumph than a Railway, as one of the great natural and all but living features of the country is subdued and brought under control.

In the second belt of country, ranging from forty to eighty or a hundred miles from the hills, is the struggle betwixt the sturdy soil and sturdier cultivator. In vain saltpetre crops out of the uninviting surface, and renders brackish all the wells; in vain rich crops of reeds, of wild grass, of stunted copse encumber the surface, as the spontaneous gifts of the earth. The husbandman wages unequal and yet not unsuccessful war with decreasing fertility. What science might do has never been tried, but the man and his stock and his miserable implements do wonders. All the weary watches of the night the oxen revolve round the well; all the weary day the surface is scratched with plough, stamped by cattle, sparsely manured, miserably weeded; and yet year after year comes the glad harvest, population increases, and grain is so cheap that the complaint is of abundance not of scarcity. With the opening canal new regions will come under the plough, new villages spring into existence.

Not ungrateful is life in scenes such as these amidst a manly and contented population. For eight months in the year the Tent is the proper home of him, who loves his duties and his people. Thus he comes to know, and be known of them: thus personal influence, and local knowledge, give him a power not to be won by bribes, or upheld by bayonets. The notables of the neighbourhood meet their friend and ruler on his morning march, greybeards throng round his unguarded door with presents of the best fruits of the land, or a little sugar, spices and almonds, ac-

according to the fashion of their country, and are never so happy as when allowed to seat themselves on the carpet, and talk over old times and new events, the promise of the harvest, the last orders of the rulers. From his fort comes down with diminished state the representative of the old feudatories, who are now gradually being absorbed. He no doubt regrets the time when murders and plunder were more fashionable, and feels himself out of place in the new order of things, and in a few more years his race will have passed away, like that of the wolves and the tigers. Often the morning march is varied by the crossing of some stream, or the wading of a sudden torrent, or by some adventure by flood and field. Storms occasionally beat round our canvass home at night; black care, tied up in the Postman's wallet behind the horseman, finds us out daily, however obscure and distant from the house of cities may be our retreat. Still in spite of the hard riding at sunrise and sunset, and the hard work during the brief winter days, happy and peaceful are the hours spent in camp too often alone, in the North of India.

But to the South extends another and stranger belt of country, "the Bar," the great solitary desert jungle which occupies the vast spaces betwixt the rivers of the Punjab. Our guide takes us to the top of a lofty tower, and, spreading out his hands, announces that this sombre forest extends unbroken and unvaried above one hundred and fifty miles to Mooltan. We look over a sea of jungle and grass tufts—grass enough to feed all the cattle in the world—we wonder what object the Creator had in view, when he left such vast expanses of trees which bear no fruit, and are so beautiful in outline. Far off we can trace the silvery line of the rivers, fringed with trees and cultivation. Here no human habitation; no animal save the fox, the deer; the partridge shares the empire with countless herds of cattle, sheep, and camels; here the camel seems to be at home, and we catch glimpses of him enjoying himself, which he certainly does not do elsewhere. Broad roads traverse the waste, and at stated intervals are the serais, the wells, the store-houses, the trough for cattle and the police station.

Along this road ply conveyances peculiar to the country, and the incipient civilization and long trains of camels, laden with military stores from England, and merchandize, relieved at stages of forty miles; the bullock train, which keeps faithfully to its mile an hour, whether laden with packages or soldiers, for of late troops have been forwarded up by this mode of carriage, six soldiers crammed into a cart, and rolling and jolting all the weary day and weary night, except where the halt is sounded at fixed stages for refreshment. Still more eligible, more fast, and more

dangerous as a conveyance, is the truck, which is drawn by two horses, and dashes along when once the horses start, abandoning the road or pretence of road, and taking the easiest course among the brushwood; on the truck is fastened a litter with canvass sides, and in the litter are stowed away ladies and children and invalids, who, if they have good nerves and good luck, arrive safe at their destination. But for speed, for delight, and for danger, in this wild track, give us a seat by the driver in the mail-cart: strong, springy, highwheeled, sufficiently weighted with official correspondence and overland letters, this vehicle is dragged by two horses, one being fastened outside the shafts after the manner of the Grecian chariot, or the outrigger in the Russian sledge. Away—Away:—hold hard by the iron bar, and gird your loins tight, and you will enjoy all the pleasure of being run away with, without being deprived of the danger, as you are in the railroads, ten miles an hour skinning along the roads—oh such roads, with such heavenward jolts, in spite of the straw which is liberally strewed over the ruts, as if all the females along the line were lying in. You hear peculiar phraseology, and have strange companions, and hear for the first time that a Hindoo will not blow a Mahomedan bugle. But stranger still are the horses: will they start, or will they not?—that is the question. You have over and over again the same dumb shew, the same proportion of deceit, the same amount of force, applied to get these strange beasts into motion. The coaxing is tried first;—"Mera Jan" My life, "Mera Bahadur," My fine fellow: gradually the seductive line verges into the authoritative, and at last, when Jehu's patience is exhausted, a boundless flow of stable abuse pours out, frightful to hear, and comprehending in one condemnation the recusant nag's ancestors in the remotest degree, and all his female relations. It is an interesting study of very indifferent horse flesh. As the monthly nurse remarked, "their tempers are born with them," for some go off like lambs; some stand out for a few minutes, as a point of honour; some spin round with the cart; in vain the wheels are moved behind, and their forelegs pulled onwards with ropes, in vain they are patted, kicked and stabbed, but they generally go at last, and we suppose they die at last, but, though we often along the road meet the dead body of a camel, (for that is their proper burial ground,) we never remember coming on a dead mail-cart horse.

Sometimes the ruins are passed by of an ancient city—streets and houses still to be traced, destroyed on some former invasion or period of destruction which recur frequently in India. The wretched huts of the modern village have been built from the vast debris, and are huddled round the protecting tower, or have

shrunk into the old serai, with the gates closed at night, for there are strange necessities and strange people in these wastes. Bitter are the waters that have to be drunk. Or during the night you come suddenly on the line of march of a European Regiment—the advance guard of camels, and suttlers, and baggage cattle, and an army of servants; at length you hear the heavy tramp, you see the dark column, and distinguish the occasional glistening of a bayonet in the torch-light, and make out the officers at the head, and you draw aside to let pass in a cloud of dust those thirsty, foot-sore Britons. And nowhere down the line does the faithful milestone desert the traveller, and the still more faithful telegraph pole, which raises its head as a protest against the absence of civilization, and the guide points out wonderingly two furrows turned up, —the one is the stamp of the Iron Horse, and the other the line of the Canal, for in a few years both Canal and Rail will run side by side through this waste. . A slight geological subsidence of a few feet would change all into fertility, and even now, as a branch of the river is neared, a bright Oasis gleams out, and the grateful sound of the revolving wheel tells of the earth being forced by sturdy man to yield its abundance.

Such are the tracts of which we try to offer a faint description; they should be seen in their fertility and in their barren solitude to be appreciated. And so situated are they on the threshold of India, so narrow is the space betwixt mountain and desert, that all the invaders of India must have thronged through it. The darkness of night has closed over the period when the Arian races advanced from the great cradle of nations, the alluvial plains of Mesopotamia, but they must have threaded the defiles of Affghanistan, they must have lifted their eyes in rapture to the Chumba mountains, and perhaps thought with regret of their old Armenian and Caucasian snows; they must have crossed by raft, or skin, or by ford, one and all of the great Five Rivers, contending perhaps at each stage with the rude aborigines. Thus came the Brahmins, the Kathæi or Khutree, the Gætæ or Juts, bringing with them the old ante-Mosaic traditions, and the cherished pre-diluvian gods, which had cost the world one Deluge. There were brave men no doubt before Alexander, but we know nothing about them, so they may as well not have existed: but when Alexander raised the curtain, he found in these regions a highly civilized people. He came, he saw, and he conquered, but somewhere on the East of the river Hyphasis he paused, and there must have been erected the pillars with the original of the famous inscription,

“EGO ALEXANDER HUC PERVENI.”

When centuries had effaced the memory of the visit of the

strange Western conqueror, there came a new invader. Great events had taken place in that thousand years. Rome had risen and fallen: the religion of Christ had been superseded in the East by the creed of Mahomet; and the time had come when India must be introduced into the comity of nations, though for China there still remained another thousand years of jealous isolation. Far up, in the interior of the celestial empire, in those tracts where the great rivers leave the mountains, there may be vast plains, and ancient cities, and great populations with strange languages, customs, and religions, of which we still know nothing, but from the day that the first lances of Mahmood gleamed in the passes of Peshawur, we have a flood of light thrown upon the country betwixt the Chenab and the Beas, and Lahore became the capital of Northern India. Dynasty after dynasty ruled there, and new settlers appropriated the soil. We know nothing of the process under which land changed hands; the cry of the despoiled never reaches us. We know nothing of the cause by which the new faith was propagated, how in each village younger sons, or unsuccessful litigants, were tempted to abandon the faith of their ancestors and for love of men adopt the new idea. The bitter feelings, the domestic feuds, which accompanied these events, have been forgotten, but the fact remains, and Hindoo and Mahomedan share together their inheritance without grudge, a standing comment on the monstrous absurdity of introducing under a Christian Government the old disinheriting Brahminical laws. Cities and towns were built, their names were changed, and, when the time came, they dwindled away, and their materials were made use of to build other towns: the Mahomedans pulled down temples, and built mosques, and with retributive justice at a later period the Hindus pulled down mosques wherewith to rebuild temples: the Palace and Fort, the Garden and the proud Tomb sprung up, hereafter to be converted to strange uses, as Forts, Zenanas, and English Churches, but the memory of the builder was soon forgotten. Nothing is permanent in the East. Still the country flourished, poured forth its annual tributes of the kindly gifts of the earth, was ever the prey of the strongest, for the fatal gift of her beauty rendered her ever desirable, and her physical position rendered her always defenceless, ever at the mercy of her powerful neighbours at Cabul and Delhi, ever oscillating on the see-saw of alternate dominion towards the North-West and South-East, occupying the same position as Palestine betwixt Egypt and Assyria, and Lombardy betwixt Austria and France. Let politicians say what they like, let them talk of the blessings of national independence, and decant on the miseries of a foreign, and of course a bad, Government, and the advantages of a good



one, these things are not felt so keenly or appreciated so fully by the people in their villages, as the little tyrannies of the petty land-owner, and the good-natured fatherly kindness of the local Government. Lahore may have been, and has been, for centuries the centre of intrigue: heads may have fallen like poppies, houses may have been plundered, and females, decked yesterday in silks and jewels the plunder of provinces, may have been turned out in rags; but far away—far away in the peaceful provinces the long Indian day has worn itself out quietly and happily to the unconscious peasant, with no thought beyond his petty cares and vulgar joys. So long as his local ruler dwelling in the neighbouring castle, so long as the money-lender of the adjoining market, were not unusually disagreeable, what mattered it to him—the hewer of wood and drawer of water, who rose and who fell at Delhi or Cabul? The blast of the triumphant trumpet, the echo of the funeral wail, reached him not. The cattle came home lowing from the pasture ground, as the shades of evening fell; without fail his meal was prepared; the revolving month brought round to him in due succession the annual festivals and the half-yearly harvests, glad season of rejoicing, for which he did not forget to trim a lamp on the steps of the old temple, and to worship with offerings of butter the Lares and Penates, as his fathers had done before him. His children grew up strong and hale; some took service, and fell in some famous victory, but the old man neither knew why it was fought, or what good came of it to the country; his only marks of time were some wedding or some birth, the only reminders of age were the grey hairs in his beard. As his physical strength failed him, he abandoned the duties of the field and the forest to younger hands without repining; he had fed his whelps when he was strong and they *must feed him now*. He settled down in the corner of the hut, and looked calmly forward to the time when he would be reduced to ashes on the funeral pile, without any feeling of shame for evil actions, of regret for mis-spent days, unconscious of ever having committed any sin, and fearless and careless of any future judgment. This life had been one of hardships to him, and the future might be so also; he could not help it, *and did not much care*. Thus since the world began, many millions have worked out their destinies; if but little better in intellect than the beasts that perish, at least not so debased by the consciousness of crime,—persisted in in spite of knowledge, unabandoned in spite of warning, as the more civilized portion of mankind.

But, as time rolled on, it appeared that a greater destiny was prepared for this tract. It was to be the theatre of a new nationality, and the cradle of a new religion. Within these narrow

confines would be born one of those gifted spirits, who are destined to teach millions a new mode of groping after God, if haply they may find him. There was a man—we dare not say—sent from God, but on whom so large a portion of the divine afflatus had fallen, that to him the great gift of welding the hearts of men, of developing a new idea, was conceded. He stood on the confines of a new dispensation, and recognized his position; he mounted a high tower in his mind, and looked out on the spiritual state of his countrymen, and beheld one half sunk in the sloth and degradation of a ceremonial worship, and the other half, possessed indeed by a great spiritual truth, but blinded by fanaticism and false zeal. The name of this man was Nanuk. Humble was his position, butter and honey were his words, he preached peace, and love, and mutual concession; he taught, that men were the sons of one father, and he laughed to scorn the show of ceremonials; he was as meek as Aaron, as full of wisdom as the Author of Ecclesiastes, he sought to bring the world into subjection by the influence of his mild doctrines. But after him came another Prophet, with a sword-like Gideon's, who wrote his words in flame, and rivalled in the intensity of feeling, and bitterness of vengeance, the prophet kings of the Maccabees. If Nanuk was the Moses, Govind was the Joshua of the new people.

Both have left written legacies, known in their language as "the book," which grey-headed men still chaunt in the gate-way of the castle, or the adytum of the temple, accompanied by the twang of rude barbytons. The elder prophet arrived at one of those eras, when the ancient religion of the people was being exposed to a severe trial in the presence of a propagandist and dominant rival. The Hindu is essentially a quietist, and the sublime doctrines which form the substratum of that faith which the Arians had introduced into India, had, after the expulsion of the Buddhists by sheer force, degenerated into gross and sensual form. In vain from time to time had risen up schools under great masters with the noble design of *internal* reform: religious equality had been preached, it had been proposed to level caste by faith, the vulgar tongue had been licensed as a vehicle of religious thought, images had been denounced, but the founders of the new sects had not cared to make social improvement an object, or to connect propagandism with a national feeling; they had in them too much of the ascetic, and too little of the practical element. At a certain stage all internal reforms are hopeless; *they go too far or not far enough*; it is necessary to return to the original fountain, and draw a new inspiration from the great source of ideas. The presence of Mahomedanism was a great fact; the

ignorant people could no longer be imposed upon that Brahmanism was a necessity of existence. On the contrary the power no longer existed to punish heretics with worldly penalties, and the feeling of the people had outstripped the stereotyped form. They understood as little what they heard, as the peasantry of England do the dogmas of the Athanasian Creed, or the anathemas of the Communion; a bull-headed conservatism prevented the priesthood from anticipating the intellectual storm; but, as the appearance of Mahomet took place at the time of the deep degradation of the Greek Church, and as Luther protested against the errors of the Roman, so stood forth at this time Nanuk. His influence spread irresistibly on a people not open to conviction in argument, and dull to appeals to the conscience; it maintained and will maintain its place, until a new fermenting take place of the theological Idea, and he be superseded by a new picture of the Divinity, believed in as blindly, and laid down as positively, as any of its predecessors, and the foolish multitude in their foolish heart cease to care for the doctrines and tenets of Nanuk.

And one hundred years later, when the second prophet appeared, there arose among the agricultural population of this country a wondrous yearning for political liberty, a wondrous desire on the part of the poor to appropriate the wealth of the rich, a wondrous feeling that freebooter and sovereign were of the same or kindred origin. This led hundreds to abandon the plough and take to the road, which in those days led them to palaces instead of prisons. A halo then encircled the petty, as it still does the imperial, robber: the hireling page of the historian was all that was required to make them great, for their ambition was only bounded by what they could lay hold of, their valour was only limited by their tenacity of life. The foolish fellow, who robbed in the jungle, would atone his guilt on the gallows: the noble creature, who sacked a city, would create a principality, and his descendants would be honoured by the British Government, and styled "Ancestral Fief-holders."

*"Ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema."*

The life of Nanuk is so intimately connected with the provinces which lie between the Chenab and Beas that we must briefly detail it. There he was born, and there he died; there he formed his school; there dwell his descendants and followers, and the very name by which they distinguish their nationality, is that of being his "Sikhs," or disciples. The proper name by which the country ought to be known is "Sikhland." Many a shrine has sprung up to mark the spots which he visited during his mortal pilgrimage. His tenets have been gradually debased, and his own

personal importance has been magnified. Hero-worship has converted the teacher into a god: the chronicles which are faithfully read and prodigally adorned with paintings, the walls of the temples on which every act of his life is depicted, the oral legends which are handed down from father to son, the feeling of the people—all have declared him to have been an emanation of the Deity, sent down by the Creator to take the form of man, when sin was ripe in the world. He has been invested with the gift of miracles and other divine attributes, and is supposed even now to have the power of conferring blessings. To none of these did he lay claim; he asserted no divine mission, he sought to found no new polity, he admitted all foregoing teachers, he only taught his disciples the result of his own experiences, exhorted to moral virtues, and recommended practical excellence as preferable to profitless asceticism.

We have carefully perused those chronicles, only in late times accessible to Europeans; we have listened to the treasured words which fell from the teacher's lips, we have visited with a reverend feeling the place where he was born, where he lived, and died; we have sought in easy conversation with the people to catch the living feeling, the popular sentiment. We wished to gather the mystery of the origin of this belief, for Nanuk is not, like Rama, or Buddha, or Krishna, a fabulous individual, round whom the lapse of centuries has thrown a mythical halo; he is not, like Mahomet, or the true Christ, the denizen of a far country, whose doctrines have been translated among strange people in strange languages. He was a contemporary of our earliest reformers, he lived and died among his own people; his descendants are still among us; the forms of life have in no way changed since he completed his mission. Painful feelings are forced upon us as we think of such things, feelings such as arise on the perusal of the life of a modern Roman Catholic Saint—a St. Theresa or a St. Francis, for the people who believe these fables are of ourselves, of the nineteenth century, understanding fairly all the range of human science and appliances, but in this matter *blind*; for a lying spirit has beguiled men, otherwise sensible and shrewd, to believe that Nanuk raised the dead to life, healed the sick, flew through the air, walked the sea, blessed and cursed, and had power over the elements. Not that they saw it themselves, but they had tradition handed down orally, and in Scripture collected by his immediate followers from those who accompanied him in his travels—men poor and illiterate, with no object to lie, and no claim to power. We turn away with a sickening feeling, for these things are believed of millions; they were not done in a corner. This is a portion of that divine gift of faith, which forms the

basis of all religions: these fables, though of modern date, have unhappily gained such credence, that the Sikhs believe them dogmatically, and will die for their truth; the Hindoos believe them historically; the Mahomedans even admit the facts; and, when we try to raise the veil, we find that the man in whom they believe, was good, virtuous, chaste, free from passion, pride, or avarice, worthy of our admiration as one of the lovers of mankind.

To the South-West of the city of Lahore in the Sub-division Shuruekpore, in the extreme corner of the district where the jungle Bar adjoins on the domains of agriculture and civilization, stood, as it stands now, the little village of Tulwundie. With the neighbouring villages it belonged to a wild tribe of Mahomedans, who had immigrated from the countries beyond the Sutlej, the Bhuttees, whose tastes were for cattle-rearing and cattle-lifting, and whose habits were nomadic, a contrast to the Hindoo Juts, who were gregarious, and agricultural, and not friendly to the new comers. The village was thus on the confines of the forest, and the field and the debateable land of two races and two religions. In this village and in the house of one Kaloo, the village accountant, a member of the Bedee tribe of the great Khutree caste, in the year of our Lord 1469, was born a male child. Prodigies attended him from the first: on entering the world he looked round and smiled: the nurse stated that at the moment, she heard sounds resembling the cries of salutation and welcome with which a great man is received on his arrival. Signs of greatness, of wisdom, and of bounty, displayed themselves early: his mother in a dream beheld the gods worshipping and praising him: at the age of five he distributed among Fuqueers all the property that he could lay hold of: the spot is still shown where he was born, and close by another favoured shrine marks the scene of the sports of his childhood. Lands are set apart by the British Government for the maintenance of these, and many other similar institutions. As the child grew up, he acquired learning without any effort, and argued with, and convinced, his teachers, but nothing would induce him to attend to the duties of life, and his father was too poor to maintain him in idleness. While in charge of cattle, he allowed them to injure a neighbour's field, but, when complaint was made, lo! the injury had been miraculously remedied. On another occasion he fell asleep, and, as the day advanced, and the rays of the sun fell upon him, a deadly Cobra spread its hood over his head, and passers by were awe-struck at the sight of him, as he slept on

• • “Non sine Diis animosus infans”

On another occasion, when similarly asleep, the boughs of

A tree were miraculously deflected from their natural position to screen him from the heat. The spots where all these wonders took place are shown, and all the villagers, including Rai Bholar, the Mahomedan lord of the soil, were convinced of the coming greatness of the lad, and tried to shelter him from the anger of his father, who took a more material view of his son's conduct. At length at the age of sixteen Kaloo sent his son out on a trading expedition with a companion from the same village, and the sum of forty Rupees. On their road in the jungle they met a company of mendicants and, entering into conversation, young Nanuk found that these men had no occasion for houses, or clothes, or luxuries; that they were free from the cares as well as the joys of life. They refused his offers of money as being useless to them, and so worked on his excitable nature that he invested the whole of his capital in food and fed the party: he returned to his village, and hid himself under the boughs of a large tree which is still venerated. Discovered by his exasperated father, he urged that he had been directed to do a good business, to realize a good profit, and he maintained *that in laying up treasures in heaven he had done so*. The spot is still known by the name of the "Profitable Investment." It must be remembered that mendicants then, as now, abounded in the land, and that there was much real worth, as well as odious deceit, in the profession. It was, and it is still, the only outlet for the irregular youth: they had no sea, no colonies, no India, where angry parents could exile their prodigal children. When then a young man was too truthful to swallow the conventional lies of the home circle, too catholic-minded to keep within the narrow groove of the domestic dogma, there was nothing for him but to strip off his clothes, and join a troop of mendicants who so far differed from the religious orders of Rome, that they were really free, and were a standing protest against the tyranny of the regular clergy, the Brahmins.

It so happened that a sister of Nanuk's had married a corn-dealer at Sooltanpore in the Jhelundhur Doab, and to her Kaloo consigned his scape-grace son. At that city resided Nuwab Dowlat Khan Lodhee, a relation of the reigning family of Delhi, and himself a man of great power, though he fell a few years later before the rising power of the Emperor Baber. Nanuk, by the interest of his brother-in-law, was employed as comptroller of the stores of the Nuwab's household; so boundless were his charities that he was accused to his master of wasting his goods, but, when the accounts were taken, a large surplus came out in his favour, a practical illustration that the store of the charitable man is indeed blessed. At this time, of the ear-

est solicitations of his family, he married, and two sons were born to him.

The heaven however within him had now fermented, and civilized life became intolerable. He felt it his duty, his calling, to cast off all the ties of family, of kindred, all links of habit, and start on his heaven-inspired mission of preaching. In vain did his relations remonstrate; his father and father-in-law never would, or could, realize the necessity, and, when he actually prepared to take the fatal step, they appealed to the Nuwaub for his assistance. It appeared that Nanuk had passed three whole days with the water up to his neck in the neighbouring stream of the Beyn, and had thence proceeded to take up his abode in the jungles, abandoning the habitations of men. The spot is still shown where he entered and left the stream, and the credulous chronicler narrates how he visited, during his immersion, the god who presided over the waters. When the Nuwaub summoned him, he replied that he knew no earthly master, that he was the servant of God: he was persuaded however to return to the city, and, finding that he was shaken as a Hindu, the Nuwaub fondly hoped to make him a Mahomedan, and persuaded him to accompany him to the mosque.

Here occurred a memorable scene, and a lesson was read by the young devotee, which applies to all nations and all religions. When the long line of Mahomedans knelt down and prayed, Nanuk stood up in silence: when the Nuwaub remonstrated with him, he said, "O Nuwaub, you were not praying, your thoughts were wandering, and you were at Candahar buying a horse." The Mahomedan noble, struck with awe, confessed that it was so: not so the wily Cawjee, who challenged Nanuk to convict him. Nanuk composedly replied;—"You, O Cawjee, were thinking of your daughter, who has just been brought to bed, and fearing lest your colt should fall down the open well." The conscience-stricken Cawjee could not hold up his head, and Nanuk was allowed to retire amidst the applause both of Hindus and Mahomedans.

His companions in his forest life were Bala, a Hindoo Jut of his own village, who was with him from his childhood to his death and assisted to compose the marvellous chronicles of his life, and Murdhana, a Mahomedan musician who played on that fantastically shaped instrument which is called a "Rubaub." Strange stories are told of this instrument which was brought down from celestial regions, and which refused to give utterance to any other cadence but the praise of God, the Almighty, the Creator, *alone*. When the strings of the instrument were sounded, forth burst the sounds

"Tu hi Narayun kar kirtar : Nanuk banduh tera"

"Thou art God the Creator : Nanuk is thy slave."

Hearing this Nanuk used to fall into a trance, regardless of all human things, and remain whole days wrapt in meditation of God, while the unfortunate musician, who was exceedingly weak in the matter of fleshly wants, was exposed to fatigue and exhausted by hunger. When he spoke, he is represented as always enclosing his meaning in brief and sententious rhymes, which were treasured up by his disciples, and incorporated in the sacred volume.

He now commenced his wanderings. That they extended all over India is probable ; that he visited Mecca in Arabia is certain ; but the vast mass of rubbish which his chroniclers have heaped together on the subject of these travels, the wonders of the countries which he visited, and the wonders which he himself performed, pass all belief. In the Punjaub and adjoining countries, we find the teacher getting over the ground by the use of those vulgar and familiar modes of conveyance, the legs, but when he visited the lofty mountains, the pole star, and other constellations, he took to his wings ; and when he visited Arabia, he wished himself there, and saved himself the trouble of moving by directing Mecca to come to him. We may divide his travels into three classes. I. Those in the Punjaub, where we can follow him clearly. II. Those in Hindostan and Central Asia, where we can trace his course generally. III. Those in Space, where it is hopeless, but still not unprofitable, to follow him, as we can thence acquire a measure of the geographical knowledge and reasoning powers of the people who believe the facts recorded, as gospel.

He is described as visiting his home at Talwundie several times, as attending at the great festival of Uchul near Buttala, as lodging under a tree, and near a tank at Sealkote, where his memory is still cherished. On one occasion he went to Pak Pultun *on the Sutlej* to the South, and on another to Hussunabdul, not far from Attock on the Indus, at which place he has left the impression of his hand in a piece of marble. He repeatedly returned to Sookanpore to visit his sister Nanukee, to whom he was tenderly attached, and, when old age came upon him, he built a retreat for himself on the right bank of the Ravce, and named the place Kirtarpur ; there he died, and the place has been swept away by the stream, but over against it has sprung up the town called after him "Deruh Baba Nanuk," where the great mass of his descendants still reside.

He more than once visited the large and famous city of Eminabad, half way betwixt Lahore and Wuzeerabad, and a shrine to this day called Roree Sahib, marks the spot where he slept



On a bed of gravel. He lodged with the poor always, and when food was sent to him by the rich Governor, he declined to taste it, as being purchased by deeds of tyranny and oppression. While lodging there the Emperor Baber attacked and sacked the town, in his famous invasion of India. He was seized with others, and forced to carry burdens and grind grain. Popular report has it that the burdens stood suspended a foot in the air above his head, and that the millstones went round of themselves: at any rate his appearance and language attracted the attention of the Emperor, who had a friendly interview with him, and was gratified by a prediction that his empire would last seven generations, which in effect it did. While conversing with the Emperor, servants brought him a plate of Bhung, an intoxicating drug in which the Tartars indulged. The Guru declined the offer, stating that his Bhung was to take the name of God, with the drinking of which he was always in a state of intoxication.

As regards the second portion of his travels, we have every well known city and country in India, known by report or alluded to in the sacred books of the Hindus, brought into use. Every Mahomedan country, the names of which were familiar from the description of travellers, is introduced, such as Sinde, Cabul, Khurrund, Room, (Asia Minor), and Arabia, but the mention of all is so vague that no profit is derived from the enumeration. That he visited Mecca and Medina was both possible and probable, considering the numbers who used in those days to flock in pilgrimage, and in fact do so now. What happened at Mecca is characteristic: that he defeated the Moolas in argument would be expected, considering that his disciples were the narrators, but he exposed the fact that the sacred Kaabuh was only a black stone and had once been a Lingum of the Hindoo god Siva, and that the Mahomedans worshiped idols. There is no doubt that it is a remnant of the ancient pre-Mahomedan worship of Arabia, and utterly unconnected with the unitarian and iconoclast doctrines of the Prophet. The Guru slept with his feet turned towards the temple, and, on being reproved for it, as a disrespect to God to turn his feet towards him, asked in which direction he could turn his feet without finding God. This is the spiritual version of the story, but the vulgar legend is, that whichever way his feet were dragged, the temple followed him, and at last the minarets got loose from their foundation, and so the Moolas let him alone. They asked him whether he respected God and the Prophet: he replied that God had sent many prophets to, instruct men in the right way, those who obeyed the orders went to heaven, and the others to hell; that Hindus and Mahomedans all came from the same five elements, did not

differ in their actions or words, and that people who fought about mere words had lost their way. At Medina the tomb of Mahomet bowed to him.

He visited Muttra, Benares, Juggurnauth, Lanka, and Hurdwar. The mildest stories are told about the inhabitants, but every thing that happened, conduced to the honour of the Guru. Those who believed in him received blessings, and those who opposed him were brought to their senses. The doctrine of Metempsychosis is introduced to give variety to the tale, and we find that Nanuk was one of the Actors of the heroic period, and a great many monsters and giants found an end to their penance on his arrival, and went off to Swurga. This is a lame adaptation of the machinery of the Ramayuna. Bala and Murdhana accompanied him in all these wanderings, but the latter was always getting into trouble. He is the low comedy Actor of the Drama, always hungry, getting into the power of magicians and monsters, and rendering the interference of the Guru necessary to save him from being swallowed up, or release him from the form of a goat.

They walked on the sea without difficulty. This was convenient for the purpose of visiting the islands within the limited knowledge of the compiler's geography. Yet they had ships at that time, for on one occasion when Nanuk was at home, his mother sent a female servant to call him to his meal, for he was asleep: the maid touched his foot, and her eyes were opened, and she became aware that the Guru, though present in person, was far away in the act of saving the ship of one of his devotees which was in a storm in the Indian Ocean. This is a grand conception, and one day, when conversing with a descendant of the Guru on this subject, he informed us *that he had the power himself*, only the devotee must have faith, and the relief would be granted: *we had not that faith* so we had no visible illustration of the power.

They came to a city of gold where no prices were required for any articles, workmen asked for no pay! Murdhana was stuffed gratuitously with sweatmeats: there was no crime, no merchants; all the people including the King were virtuous, their only fault being that they were rather conceited. They came to another city where people acted just in the contrary way to the rest of mankind, wept at births, and laughed at funerals. He took the opportunity of attacking the Brahmins on all occasions: at the Kurukhetra at Thanetur he cooked animal food just at the critical moment of an eclipse, with a view of scandalizing them; at Hurdwar he openly called on the people to beware of these Scribes and Pharisees. He nobly filled the part of a periodical protest of truth and common sense.

against the untruth and folly of the age. He accused a Punjabi of having improper thoughts in his mind, while repeating his prayers: he told the Brahmins that all ritual observances were vain, so long as the *heart was not pure*: when they stood up, and looked towards the East, and poured out water to their ancestors, he mockingly stood up, and poured out water looking to the West: when they asked him his reason, he remarked that he was watering his field in the Punjaub: when they urged that the water would not reach so far, he asked how they then expected *that their water would reach to the other world*.

A thief met him, and the Guru remonstrated with him on his way of living. He pleaded the necessity of supporting his family. "Will they," said the Guru, "agree to share the penalty of your misdeeds in a future state?" They all declined, and assured the thief that he alone would be responsible, upon which he abandoned his dishonest profession, and became a disciple of the Guru.

On another occasion he stopped by the ashes of a funeral pile, and sent a follower to get a light. The eyes of this man were opened, and, as he approached the pile, he beheld the angels of death dragging off the person who had been burnt to hell, and beating and tormenting him. As he returned from the pile, he found these same angels of death changed into palanqu берег bearers, and carrying off this same man in all the pomp and comfort of Indian wealth. He inquired the reason, and he found that the party was an atrocious sinner, had well deserved hell and torments, but Nanuk's gaze had fallen on his pile; God had forgiven him his sins, and he was now going off by palanqu берег to Heaven. It is difficult to say whether this story is more quaint or solemn; there is a vast amount of spiritual truth enveloped in fanciful oriental dress. In many instances also strangers, convinced by his words, asked "what shall we do to be saved?" The answer was—"Worship Narayun."

The third portion of the travels of Nanuk is a strange mixture of Hindu Cosmology as drawn from the Puranas, combined with a knowledge of the Himalaya Mountains, which are always before the eyes of the natives of these regions, and a touch of the sectarian views of the Sikh denomination. The snowy ranges in their unapproachable height and beauty, tinted with roseate hues under the glow of an evening sunset, do present a region worthy to be considered the dwelling place of the immortals. When once the idea had been formed, each peak would have its own deity, and the chronicler, plunging into ethereal space, could very much have his own way as regards gods, and mountain tops, concerning which very little was known with certainty by the vulgar. At an earlier date the changes would

have been rung upon the earlier deities of old Hinduism, but even in this mass of rubbish we find signs of progress of the human intellect, for, when Nanuk and his two companions flew up to these heights, where there was nothing but snow and where the birds could not reach, they found seated there amidst his disciples, the great sectarian teacher Gonicknauth, who had immediately preceded Nanuk in the work of freeing the Hindu intellect. This downward step of theogony can only be illustrated to European notions by supposing a Protestant Heaven ruled over by Luther and Cramner, or a Low Church Mt. Hermon occupied by Wesley and Robert Hall. Of course in this truth-loving narrative every other Guru, or Faquir, must be placed in a position of inferiority: their arguments are made futile, their miracles ridiculous: all tried to make Nanuk their disciple, like Pharaoh's magicians all strive in vain to rival the miracles of Moses. Here however again the dogma of theological schools peeps out, shewing that the intellect had gained a step, for the superiority of Nanuk was not conceded even by the chronicler from some *innate* Divinity, as Krishna, or from *brute* power, as Siva, but from the gift of a *more excellent understanding and a deeper knowledge of things unknown*. Gonicknauth and his followers in vain submitted the new comer to a rigid examination, formularized into questions. Nanuk passed the highest standard, resisted all their blandishments, out-argued all their arguments, proved himself to be perfect, and compelled them to give way.

Murdhana remarked that he could see no sun. Nanuk informed him that that luminary was far below them: he then explained to him in detail the position of the celestial bodies. They passed on from peak to peak, and found eremites living on fruits, and worshipping God: they saw wonderful animals, and especially tigers, who were suffering from hunger on account of crime; the Guru received honour from all, for in this strange narrative animals are invested with caste, customs, and modes of thinking, nor were they considered unfit objects of divine illumination, or of becoming disciples.

At length in their upward flight they reached Dhru, or the Pole Star. The Bhugut, or Saint, who was seated alone in that solitary height, told them that only one person had been there before Nanuk—that was Kubeer, the greatest of the modern teachers, who had in fact shewn the way to the reformation of Nanuk. At that point Nanuk left his two followers, and proceeded alone to the residence of the Almighty, which was in sight from this place, and they beheld Nanuk enter the palace gates, and stand before the throne of Narayun, over whose head Kubeer, the only other person present, was waving his Chou-

rie. The lord of the universe asked him whether the work, for which he was sent into the world, was done—viz., the reformation of mankind. Nanuk replied that he had instructed many sinners in Jumbodwipa or India, but that he had all the rest of the world to go to. Narayun smiled, and was pleased, and the teacher returned.

Think not that ought of impiety is meant in this narrative; it is a type of the school to which Nanuk belonged. The old Hindu Ascetic of the heroic age was a moral Titan, who attempted to scale heaven by *heaping* works upon works, and making the vulgar gods tremble for their *sensual* supremacy. These Munees ate so fully of the forbidden tree of Knowledge, that the gods feared lest they should become one of *them*, and so they were expelled from Paradise: or they tried to erect a tower which would reach to heaven, and so dissension was sown in their camp, and they were scattered; they piled Pelion on Ossa, and they were subdued by lightning. But the modern Hindu teacher taught that heaven was to be won by purity, by knowledge and faith, and on the path that leads thither he stationed the different teachers and their schools in the degree in which they possessed those attributes, while a passionless but refined deity superintended the work, incapable of jealousy as he was unapproachable in dignity.

At length, when old age had dimmed his eye and whitened his hair, Nanuk settled down in the midst of his disciples at Kartarpore on the banks of the Ravee, as poor, as simple, as benevolent, as when fifty years before he had abandoned his home and the ordinary ways of men. His primary object had been to reconcile Mahomedans to Hindus, and form a united religion: Here he had failed, but he had formed in the bosom of Hinduism a sect which was destined to take root, though the oppressions of the Mahomedans gave it a development far different from the intentions of the founder. He was determined to avoid the snare of an hereditary priesthood, and specially excluded his two sons from the succession to his office, laying hands on one of his disciples, of a weak disposition like his own, and giving him the name of Angad, or his own flesh. The anecdotes connected with this event are worth recording. When the mother remonstrated against the supersession of her sons, the Guru made no reply: at that moment a cat flung a dead mouse at his feet, the Guru directed his sons to remove it; they drew back in all the pride of ceremonial purity, but Angad, who was of the same caste, at once obeyed the orders of his spiritual teacher, who turned to his wife, and gravely asked which was his real son. On another occasion he found himself with his disciples in a jungle, and they stumbled on a corpse. "Who-

ever is my disciple," said the Guru, "let him eat of that body." All drew back in horror but Angad, who, lifting up the sheet to obey the order, found only sweet provisions. Nanuk blessed him, and told him that he would be above all, and gave him all power and wisdom, and enjoined his disciples to obey him, and they did so, and Angad is the second of the teachers or kings of the Sikhs.

Soon after one of his disciples met in the jungle a heavenly messenger, who sent word by him to Nanuk that he must come away. He prepared his own funeral pile, spread the sacred Kusa grass, and sat down. Round him were assembled all his disciples, and crowds of the minor deities, the spirits of just men made perfect, eremites, saints, and holy men of promiscuous repute, assembled to witness the solemn ceremony of the teacher putting off the mortal coil, and being absorbed into the great essence of Divinity. He gave advice to all, told them that death was inevitable, but that they should take care that their end might be, like his, happy. All wept, but his sons were still absent. As the sun rose, the Guru placed his sheet over his face, and, while the Pundits chaunted hymns on the uncertainty and shortness of life, and the deities sung out "Victory," he appeared to expire. At that moment his sons came in, and, thinking that he was really dead, fell at his feet in an agony of penitence, craved pardon, and one hour's delay. The Guru had sufficient strength to look up, and bless them, and then his spirit passed away. This took place in the year 1539 A. D.

Many Mahomedans were present, and declared that they would bury him as their co-religionist: the Hindus however prepared to burn him, and a great disturbance was apprehended, when, happening to look under the sheet, they found the body gone, having been mysteriously removed. The two factions divided the sheet, and one-half was buried and the other burnt. The Ravee in its summer floods has swept away all trace of both the tomb and the cenotaph, but the most profound veneration still attaches itself to every record, however trifling, of the great teacher. Scattered over the country are shrines where his shoes, or his staff, or his couch, are religiously preserved: his words have been collected into a volume, and three hundred years, which have elapsed since his death, have only sanctified the memory of his mild virtues, though the object of his Mission entirely failed, and a more intense hatred sprung up in this part of India betwixt Hindu and Mahomedan than elsewhere. Of his two sons one founded the monastic institution of the Godasses, whose converts are rich and of high estimation throughout the Punjab, and are not without their religious and secular advantages. The other son is the ancestor of that presumptuous

and worthless race, the Bedees, who, trading on the great name of this ancestor, put all the disciples under contribution with the object of supporting their own useless selves, while their hands have been dyed for centuries with the blood of their female children, and the sweet names of daughter, sister, and aunt are unknown among them. It is hard to say the descendants of which son have most entirely set at nought the precepts of their ancestor, for while the Oodasees seek virtue by shunning the duties and pains of life, the wicked Bedees cloke their abominable sin under the garb of hereditary sanctity, and try to draw to themselves from the simple people that homage which is due only to God.

We have stated that Nanuk was contemporary with Baber, the founder of the great Mogul dynasty. Angad succeeded him in his spiritual rule, and died in 1552, transmitting his staff to his disciple Umur Dass, who reigned till 1574, and to him succeeded in peace Ram Dass, who founded the great city of Amritsur, or Ram Dasspore, his predecessors having dwelt in political obscurity at Khudoor and Goindwal on the Beas. To Ram Dass in 1581 succeeded the fifth king, Arjun, who was imprisoned at Lahore by the local Governor, and died in 1606. These were the great days of the Mogul dynasty; to Baber had succeeded Humayun, and to him Akhbur and Shahjehan. Lahore had become the residence of Jehangheer, who, occupied in his splendor and cares of state, thought little of the disciples of the Nanuk, as he made his annual progress along the Imperial Road, still marked by the ruined serai, and the obelisk telling the Imperial Koss, to the passes of Bhimbur, Pinjal and the happy valley of Cashmere. On his road thither Jehangheer died, and his body is buried at Shahduruh over against Lahore on the banks of the Ravee. Under Aurungzeb began the reign of religious persecution, and, as the vigour of the Mahomedan Empire relaxed, the Mahrattas in the South and the Sikhs in the North began to raise the standard of revolt, and the sacred tank at Amritsur became the centre of a religious and national movement, at the head of which was Hurgovind, the sixth king or Guru. His son Tegh Bahadur, the ninth king, was mercilessly beheaded at Delhi in 1675, an act never forgiven or forgotten by the Sikhs, and never thoroughly expiated till 1857, when the Sikhs plundered Delhi under English guidance, and put an end to the Mogul dynasty. Prophecies were current on this subject, and the general belief was, that under a sovereign named Duleep the Khalsa was to take Delhi. Somehow or other the thread of prophecy was hopelessly entangled, for when the Emperor asked the dying Guru what he was looking ~~so~~ so steadfastly: "I see," said he, "the Lal Kurties, who are on their road to destroy your

To Aurungzeb succeeded Bahadur Shah, and he met Govind the son and successor of Tegh Bahadur face to face, spared his life, and let him return to his country to be the tenth, the last, and the greatest prophet and king. Sad was now the state of these provinces amidst invasion, anarchy, and misrule. Sovereigns too weak to rule, a people too strong to submit; religious intolerance; national revenge, hounded on by a deep sense of wrong, and the unnatural energy of a new religious organization. From the Chenab to the Sutlej, and beyond that river to the Jumna, the great heart of the people vibrated under a temporary madness: they saw their last prophet abandon his country in despair, his wife and his four sons being murdered, and lay down his weary life on the banks of the Godavery in 1708. No one succeeded to him; the great office of teacher, or spiritual king, of which Nanuk was the first, ended in Govind; he came to restore peace to the world, but his descendants had become a sword. As if the fall of an Empire and the intestine struggles of races, religions, and provinces, were not enough, foreign invasion was now added. The countries beyond the Indus poured forth her centennial swarm of locusts, and these unhappy Provinces became the theatre of war betwixt the Affghan, the Persian, and the satraps of India, and the distant Mahratta mingled in the strife, crossed the Beas, and occupied Lahore.

No historian has recorded the miseries of those periods. Rich countries situated on the highway of nations are particularly liable to be thus victimized. Such was Judæa in the struggles of ancient days; such are Belgium, the Danubian provinces, and Lombardy, in modern times. The battle of Paniput had the effect of clearing the atmosphere by exhausting both parties, and the grandeur and extent of the contest then carried on on these plains may be imagined, when it is recorded that the survivors of that great battle of the world retired to Candahar, and Poonah, respectively, and it so happened that in the year 1759, precisely one hundred years ago, the inhabitants of the countries betwixt the Chenab and the Sutlej found, when the dust of the storm cleared away, that the combatants had retired on both sides, and that they were free. That year 1816, according to their reckoning, was a wonderful year: they would like to renew the events of that year on its centenary: they have the wish, the daring, and the hope, if we give them the opportunity. It was then that they assembled their solemn Council at the tank of Amritsar, and proceeded to partition the vacant country among the twelve camps, and tribes, into which they were divided. They had been the cultivators and owners of the soil; they had taken to arms, and they now settled down as Lords and petty Chiefs, but not generally in their own immediate neighbourhood, and it often



happened that a petty shareholder in one of the Maiyha villages was the feudal Chieftain at the same time of a large tract of country, but he still fondly cherished his ancestral property and village title. The Raja of Nabha still calls himself Chowdry. So exposed to their mercy was the country, when the Mahomedans fell back on either side to Delhi and Peshawur, that single horsemen spread far and wide to take nominal possession of as many villages as possible by flinging a belt or a turban into each, and then passing on to annex more.

There is no doubt, however, that rude as was the Government, and uncertain the tenure of power, the country recovered itself. Villages were again restored, population increased; the curse of the foreign conqueror, and the tramp of large armies, were removed; the Chiefs were too weak to be very tyrannical, and their general sympathies were with their subjects, from whom they were but little removed in education or feeling: they had no foreign support to back them up, on the contrary they had jealous and unscrupulous neighbours who were ready to absorb them. Nearly half a century passed away in this way, when the great Absorber came in the person of Runjeet Singh, who, like the ogre in the story-book, deliberately ate all his petty neighbours one by one. If the Chief had no children, he declared himself the heir; if he had a daughter, he made himself son-in-law; if he had intestine quarrels with his children, his brethren, or his wives, Runjeet Singh appeared as Mediator; if his neighbours were strong, or of the Mahomedan religion, he deliberately attacked them till they gave in, if they were weak and helpless, he pensioned them. Different causes however gave one and the same result, and by A. D. 1820 they became his subjects, and their territories became his. Still it was all in the name of the great Sikh nation, and the people felt themselves exalted in his aggrandizement. But with his death the great unwelded mass fell to pieces. As it happened to Judæa which was so many years the prey of her neighbours, the Assyrian and the Egyptian, a great and stern people of whom they had known nothing, dwelling like the Romans in countries far beyond the seas, came suddenly on the stage, and worked out the mighty programme which had two thousand years before been sketched by Alexander.

The rule of the stranger has been gentle on this country; as we heard a citizen remark, they scarcely felt that they were ruled, for they miss the scorpion rod and the arbitrary impost. They do indeed regret that oxen are slaughtered, and child-murder punished. Memory does gild with a romantic halo the good old time of raids and plunder, but as yet they have borne these calamities without rebellion, and, if we continue to be strong, they

may continue to bear. The country fell into the hands of a particular school who, if they erred, always erred in favour of the people—a school greater in politics than in finance, for with one hand they alienated broad-cast the sources of revenue to keep up a bastard aristocracy and a degraded priesthood, and with the other drew on the revenues of India with a lavish and reckless expenditure. For a period of transition this may have been a wise policy, and it has enabled us to weather the storm; but for a permanency, which but for the stern interference of the head of the Government of India it would have been, it meant bankruptcy. This was foreseen by that one man whose name has become a household word, and he protested in time. Not that he cared not for the people, not that his heart was not tender to the wants and woes of the millions. There was something in the brawny shoulders, and rough manners, and independent bearing of the Sikh peasantry, that was congenial to him. If the doctrine of transmigration were still believed, we might believe that he had been in some former state, or would be in some future, a Jut yeoman. But he felt that after all money is the sinew of the state, and, if one quarter of the land tax is alienated in perpetuity, and another quarter granted away in pensions, insolvency must follow. How that wonderful feeling of sympathy for the Jageherdar, the Inamdar, and the Pensioner ever came into existence, is to us a marvel. It would not be popular in England to pay taxes to support others in idleness, nor, if an assignment had been made for the support of the family of one who had done good service, (as for instance the Duke of Marlborough, who receives a pension from the Post Office,) would the people of England tolerate that, on the extinction of his line, he should adopt others, or will away the State Revenue. Yet this is the real truth of that great grievance which so vexes Western and Southern India, which by early gathering in our harvest in the North we have practically solved.

The extent of land still alienated for life, or lives, in the tract under description, is still enormous. Death has been busy, and proved our best ally. The rapacious Deewan, who fattened on the land, has gone to his account; he never rendered a true one in this world: the wily scribe, who aped the name, and appearance of poverty while he rolled in wealth, is now poor indeed: the plunderers of provinces, the haughty dissipated noble, the bloodstained soldier of fortune, the perjured Rajah, the flatterers of their sovereigns and their own flesh and blood for their ambitious purposes, have all passed away. Their likenesses still hang round the walls of the museum at Lahore, decked with earrings and the insignia of barbaric pomp, but their place knows them no more. One old man of the Court of Runjeet

Sing remains—an adventurer from the British provinces, who by ways fair and foul, raised himself to greatness, and sold the Sikh Army to the English at Ferozshuhr, for which achievement he is handed down as a traitor in the legendary ballads of the people. So entirely has the scene changed in fifteen years, that those who have known the country for that period start when they think of it. It seems like the turning of a Kaleidoscope since that brilliant Court, glittering in jewels and silks, stained with every crime human and inhuman, devoid of public or private virtue and decency, held here its butterfly pomp, ere the strong wind from the West swept them away.

The last days of these provinces have been marked by most unsuccessful mutiny, and most prodigious massacre. Mutiny appears to be indigenous in the soil, from the days that Alexander's soldiers mutinied because they wished to return to Macedon and Thessaly, to this present hour, when Britons, forgetting their duty, jeopardize an Empire. At Meean Meer, Mooltan, and Sealkote in our last troubles mutinies took place, which were met so promptly and punished so terribly, that future historians will draw their breath for a while, ere they accept as facts, what we know to be such. From Sealkote the mutineers were hurrying across the Ravce and the Beas, intending to compel other regiments to join them, when they were met at Trimmoo Ghaut on the former river by a force which must have appeared to them to have sprung from the ground. They had forded the stream in the morning, but after the battle the river fought against them, for it had swollen since morning, and hundreds were carried away. No quarter was given, and for several days after, shooting parties were told off each evening to dispose of the fugitives captured during the day. A darker tragedy followed next month, when a regiment mutinied, and broke away from Mean Meer. They were met on the Ravce captured and destroyed: their destruction saved hundreds of lives, and was a stern sad necessity, the occurrence of which we must ever regret, but, when the precise position of British affairs in the Punjaub is considered, there were but two alternatives—to exterminate them, or to submit to be exterminated ourselves. Let those who, from a distance judge harshly, consider the position. We who, long after passions have calmed, have stood upon the mound which marks the grave of the Mutineers, have arrived at the deep conviction that it was a merciful disposition of Providence *that their career should end there.*

Of the century of Sikh rule there are three Memorials, which will enable us to form a judgment as to the manner of men who preceded us in the empire of those Provinces. All are falling into decay, and we trust that in a few years they will have passed

away. A few lines on each may not be an inappropriate conclusion. They are the Pension List, the Jagheerdar, and the Temple at Amritsur.

This has always to us been a wonder to contemplate the liberality, the lavish, with which the Anglo-Indian Government provided for the refuse, the degraded members and followers of former dynasties, and the niggardliness shown towards their own servants and public works. Millions have been spent on the most worthless of men: the adoptive father of Nana Sahib drew more than two millions, and his precious cousin in the Banda district drew two millions beside. It may be urged that these pensions were hastily granted for great public objects at a time when we were not so strong, and that the grants, though upheld, were disapproved of. But, when the Punjab was annexed after fair fight, and when already financial difficulties were looming in the distance, the same prodigality marked our policy. We succeeded to a system of the most degraded and dissolute kind, and there was no necessity to provide for the attendants of such a Court. But the following are the kind of persons whose precious existence is provided for without fail by the paternal Government, while it is borrowing millions, and retrenching the salaries of its own servants;—Palanquin Bearers, Chowree wavers, Furashes, umbrella carriers, families of deceased umbrella carriers, keepers of chairs, families of deceased waterpot carriers, barbers, cooks, wives and daughters of deceased cooks, commandants of cooks, falconers, *ghunta pandies*, family of the late Maharaja's nurse, tomfools, Rebabec fiddlers, painters, dogkeepers, sweepers, archers, double and triple wives of deceased Moonshes, slave girls, aged courtezans described as favourite concubines of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, the daughter of another and the sister of a third equally disreputable, and unblushingly described as such; relations of the mistress of General Allard; every kind of priest, fuqueer, saint, Guru, Brahmin, fortune teller, of many of whom the pedigrees have to be preserved, some according to the flesh, as a furash or waterpot carrier, or cook may be supposed to perpetuate his race in the flesh; others by the spirit, as the saintly folk in the end of the list continue their race by the imposition of hands.

But the particular pension list of the family of the late Maharaja is something appalling. He appears to have had above twenty Ranees: some of them were good enough to ascend the funeral pile in his company, some were comforted in his absence. They belong to all castes and districts, and when at Lahore they dwelt in little pigeon holes round the famous tower called the "Sumun Burj." Attached to each were slave girls without number, poor wretched females, who were sold from

their homes in their youth, and had no relations or social position. Twice has the cruel fate of the female slaves of India been forced on our notice—once in the Punjaub when an attempt was made to distribute the slaves in their respective villages, if their friends would take them back. Eight wretched old women were thus consigned to us, not in any way realizing the ideal of the “slave of the Harem,” but on inquiry in their villages they had been forgotten, there was no one to receive them, and the paternal Government has to cherish them from its own resources. On another occasion in Central India a mother and her daughter had escaped from the walls of the palace of a Nuwaub, and sought our protection. Their names were demanded and their parentage: the elder female had had a father, but as to her daughter she stated calmly that she was a slave, and uncertain as to the precise parentage of her child; it was born in the Nuwaub's house. Still sympathy is felt by some for these royal and noble families, as they topple over and their impure interiors are exposed, and in maintaining such establishments as these, more than forty thousand pounds sterling per annum are expended yearly at Lahore. Now that the salaries of the General, and the Judge, and the Staff Officer are being clipped, is it too much to suggest to the financiers of India that the assignments and allowances of the families of cooks might bear reconsideration? At any rate let the lavish hand for the future be stayed; let us be just before we are generous.

The Jagheerदार is a remnant of a former age, a specimen caught alive of a former geological period. He may have been useful, and a source of strength to former Governments: he is not so to the British Government, for his very existence is an anachronism; he feels that he is an absorbing element, and that the grave is gaping for him. We have known them during the time of their Empire, when fine feathers made them fine birds: we have known them during the period of their absorbing process, and in prosperity and adversity to our minds they are the lowest type of that genus, which has usurped to itself in most countries the privilege of preying on the labours of others. Utterly devoid of public feeling, of care for anybody but themselves, rude, unlettered, low in mind, in acts, and habits, the drones of society, their extinction will be hailed by the people and by the Government. About them cluster the priest, the bawd, the dancer, the musician, the general panderer to the passions: these worthies gather round their sensuous lord to extract money from his fears, his passions, and his gross delights. Ever hostile in heart to the great Government under whose shadow he exists, his ears prick up and his eyes brighten when he hears of disaster, true or invented. But visit him in his rural home, in his rude plenty, amidst his re-

tainers, his cattle and the garnered stores of his past harvests, listen to his hearty welcome in the gateway, his professions of devotion, and his patriarchal manner—but that we knew his antecedents we might carry away the impression that he was the most charming of old men, and wonder at the rude assault made by narrow-minded politicians at the last of the Barons. Strange to say the middle classes of England supply the most determined champions of the pseudo-aristocracy of the East.

But the great Temple will ever stand forth as the most remarkable Monument of the Sikh people. In the heart of the city of Amritsur is the famous tank, from which the name is derived, and here centre all the national pride and religious fervour of the people. In the early struggles with the Mahomedans this sacred spot was more than once defiled by the slaughter of oxen in the hopes of putting down the nascent faith, but to no purpose, for no sooner had the storm blown over, than the waters were again consecrated, and again the faithful assembled. Thither the tribes went up, year after year, on their solemn feast days in the spring and the autumn; there they took council in the hour of affliction, and there they gathered and divided their spoils when triumphant. A vast city has sprung up round about, and commerce, here as elsewhere, has waited as the handmaid of religion. The Sikh dwelling in villages, on the occasion of his annual pilgrimage, purchased those rude luxuries at the fair, and the excitement of pleasure and sight-seeing, the freedom from restraint, and the novelty of the journey, soon added that powerful zest to what was originally a duty as a pilgrimage. When Runjeet Singh had converted the great commonwealth into an Empire, and centered in himself all the wealth and power of the nation, he affected the deepest religious feelings, and the greatest enthusiasm for the holy place. In the centre of the tank rose a gorgeous temple of marble, the roof and minarets being encased in gilded metal: marble pavements, fresco paintings, added to the splendour of the scene, and round the outer circle sprung up a succession of stately buildings for the accommodation of the Sovereign and his Court. The establishment of no noble was complete who had not his "bhoonga" at Amritsur.

The sight from the roof of the royal bhoonga is one of the most imposing in the world. The worship of the heathen lies before us in all its glory. We have stood on the tower of Fort Antonia at Jerusalem, and tried to conjure up the appearance of the Courts of the Lord's House in the days of the splendour of the Jewish hierarchy. From the roof of the ruined Parthenon we have looked over the inclosure of the Acropolis. But for neither of these ancient temples, nor for the great fane

of Diana at Ephesus, can we imagine a more venerable, a more brilliant appearance, either the time when the Passover, or the great Panathenaic festival, gathered the thousands of worshippers within their portals. It is a strange, and solemn scene :—lofty minarets stand as sentinels on one side ; the umbrageous foliage of trees sets off the white radiance of the marble and the masonry ; the rich gilding of the domes is reflected in the waters ; pigeons without number fly over the open space ; and from below comes up a hum of men and women, bathing and praying, or reverently making the threefold circle of the sanctuary, from the interior of which comes forth the murmur of priests, chaunting the sacred volume to the accompaniment of stringed instruments.

No European shoe is allowed to violate the sacred threshold ; the visitor must either do so barefooted, or encase his feet in slippers prepared for the purpose. Not a quarter of a century ago Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, reverently laid bags of silver as an offering of the British Government on the holy of holies. When the country was occupied, the profoundest respect was shewn to the Temple and all connected with it, and even to this day its affairs are superintended by British officials, who take heed that the revenues set apart for the repairs of the building are properly expended, and that the offerings of cakes, and cash, are fairly distributed among the tribes of hungry attendants, who have gathered round like vultures. These people appear to have acquired an hereditary right, but their conduct and bearing is that of the sons of Eli, and, ceasing to care for their religious character, or for popular influence, they vex the local Courts with their petty squabbles for a fractional share of the offerings ; and into these nauseous details, into their disposition of unhallowed things, to which the double meaning of "Anathema" applies, the servants of a Christian Government are constrained to enter. Strange names, and strange offices, thus became familiar. We have a body of Grunthees, or readers of the sacred Grunth, corresponding with the Prebends of a Cathedral, except that the principle of hereditary succession has rendered much knowledge of the contents of the volume unnecessary. Beneath them come a most disreputable body of acolytes, or Minor Canons, who ought to perform the service of the Temple as the ministering Levites, but who have adopted secular habits, become money-lenders, extortioners, and give to the title of Poojaree anything but the odour of sanctity. Beneath them come the choir, or singing men, known as Bagees, who sing hymns and chaunt the text of the sacred volumes in a manner unintelligible to the understanding, and unpleasing to the hearing. These are all Sikhs, and may at least

have the credit of believing what they practise, but there is a fourth body, who are composed entirely of Mahomedans, and who still are not ashamed to lend their vocal powers to the service of the heathen. These compose the orchestra, and extract inharmonious sounds by sweeping the strings of fat-bellied barbytons, called Rubabs, whence they are called Rubaboes. These men claim to themselves the honour of being descended from that Murdhana who accompanied Nanuk in his travels. Like their ancestor, they are a hungry lot.

Such is the great Temple of the Sikhs, protected and endowed by the paternal Government, the centre of the hopes and aspirations of a great people, and which may some day prove the rallying point of our enemies. Leave it to itself and withdraw from it the patronage of the State, resume the lands set aside for the support of the brotherhood of Grantees, Poojarees, Ragees, and Rubabees, and the splendour of the institution will pass away. The gilded dome will lose its lustre, the marble walls will fall out of repair, the great Temple, with its assigned revenues and its stately establishments, will no longer be a snare for the vulgar, who are ever deceived by outward show. To act thus would be to act impartially, and in accordance with the true principles of non-interference. No necessities of State policy appear to justify the contrary policy, nor do those necessities exist.

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- ART. V.—1. *The Story of Cawnpore.* By CAPT. MOWBRAY THOMSON, *Bengal Army.* One of the only two Survivors from the Cawnpore Garrison. London: Richard Bentley. 1859.
2. *Letters from Futtyghur by the Lady of an Officer of Engineers.*
3. *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow, written for the perusal of Friends at Home.* London, 1858.
4. *Day by Day at Lucknow: a Journal of the Siege of Lucknow.* By MRS. CASE. London. 1858.
5. *The Timely Retreat, or a Year in Bengal, before the Mutinies.* By TWO SISTERS. London: Richard Bentley. 1858.

WE have often thought it a pity that women are not more systematically trained to the exercise of courage and presence of mind. The youngest boy is exhorted to behave "like a man" as soon as he is out of petticoats, and is, at least by his father, shamed out of showing cowardice, and taught to look upon all manifestations of fear as disgraceful; but his little sister is generally petted and consoled with if she shrieks and cries equally at the sight of a frog or of a mad bull. True, there is a difference of organization. A woman in general knows nothing of "the stormy play, the joy of strife," nor of that bounding of the spirit at the approach of conflict as if it were eager to plunge into its natural element. The girl's eyes fill with tears of pity at the sight of a fight; the boy's eyes flash, and his cheeks flush with eagerness to join the fray, though neither of them know anything of its merits.

Combativeness is decidedly more largely developed in the male half of creation, and right and fit it is that it should be so. Far from implanting it in woman, we hold that it is a sign of barbarism when the women of a nation forget the tenderness of their sex and their natural offices of peacemakers and comforters, and become the promoters of vengeance and the stirrers up of strife. The women of Afghanistan will drink the blood of the murderer of their kinsfolk; the women of Spain will watch every incident of a bull fight, the gored and bleeding horses, the tortured bull, the wounds and deadly jeopardy of the men, with unflinching eye and uncompassionate heart; but that there is a possible medium between unfeminine hardness and downright cowardice, is shewn every day by the calm heroism of some of the most gentle of women. We maintain that calmness and presence of mind in danger might be rendered much more general by education. The little girl should be taught that it is as shameful for her to scream at a spider, to weep with fear in a boat, to betray unreasonable fear where there is no danger, or be guilty of unreasonable conduct when the danger is real, as it is for her brother.

If she cannot help, she should at least not hinder the measures necessary to be taken in the hour of peril. A child of either sex can be trained to obedience under all circumstances, to sit still if the horses run away, or the boat ships a wave; and the woman so trained will be very unlikely to incur the guilt and disgrace of failing in the wife's first duty of being a help-meet to her husband under all circumstances.

How many women have brought destruction on the man they best loved, by embarrassing him by their fears in time of danger. Has the sword arm never been mastered, not by the enemy but by the frantic or fainting wife or sister; has the boat never foundered because all the ladies started from their seats as it heeled over? How many a fair rider has been taken up a cripple or a corpse who would have ridden home in safety and thankfulness, had she kept her seat two minutes longer. Has no wife or mother had to endure the life-long reproaches of him whom she held back in the path of duty because it was also the path of danger? And is not this disgraceful? Is not cowardice of this kind as worthy of reprobation as that of him who forsakes his colors in the day of battle? It is not *fear* that is disgraceful—that is common alike for man and woman, and though the latter, with her more lively imagination, more sensitive organization and more anxious temperament, probably feels it with an intensity of which few men are capable, yet the bravest of men are not insensible to it. The lad who in his first action, pale as death with the drops standing on his brow, marches straight up to the enemy's battery, will tell you in after years that he then felt fear clutching at his heart; but honor and duty are dearer to him than life, the thought of failing in the hour of trial never enters his mind; and if his sister had been trained from infancy as he has been, to see that honor and duty require her too to suppress the voluntary manifestation of fear, to keep herself calm and quiet, ready to obey the first direction, and, what is harder, able to wait quietly when there is nothing to be done—requiring no attention, demanding no care, leaving the men of the party to act as freely as if she were not present and recalling her presence only when she can render assistance, she too would crush back her fear into her heart, and would do her duty as gallantly as himself.

It is not pretty, it is not interesting to be troublesome. We never knew a man admire sobs and shrieks, wringing of hands, agonizing fears, fainting or even the most passionate anxiety for his own safety, especially if he had to carry a woman who ought to have walked, or if he had to attend to her, instead of to the business before him. To show how much in this respect may be done by education, we need not refer to Spartan mothers, or to the brave German women immortalized by Tacitus.

Livingstone relates of some African tribe that the women are trained to repress all outward manifestation of fear or pain. A mother will say to her little girl ;—" You are a woman, and women never cry." But though much may be done by education, every thing can be done by the will, nerved by a sense of duty. We have seen cases of women recovered from hysterics by the actual presence of imminent danger ; they knew it was now a matter of life and death, recovered their senses and the use of their limbs, and behaved with perfect propriety till the crisis was over. One young lady, who had the habit, which she declared she could not help, of sorrowing on the slightest surprize or accident, was not only silent, but showed remarkable control over others, while the house she was in was filled with rebels thirsting for the blood of herself and her friends. We constantly hear of acts of the real heroine performed by women under the impulse of feeling strong enough to overpower all thought of personal danger. Perhaps one of the most remarkable instances was that of a lady who suddenly saw a tiger gazing at the carriage in which her children were sitting. Quietly and steadily she passed between the animal and the carriage, shut the doors of it, and returned in safety. Maternal love gave her this presence of mind, and we maintain that, if cultivated, other motives would be found able to do so.

If this training to self-command and courage be requisite for every woman, it is essential for the wife of a soldier ; and we all know that the inculcation of the most anti-military precepts never yet sufficed to secure our daughters from that contingency. Still less will it do so now, when the soldier has been replaced in his proper position in public estimation. Before the Crimean campaign the army was looked down upon as more ornamental than useful. Young officers were often boys fit for nothing else, or eldest sons who entered with the intention of spending a few years pleasantly and leaving the so-called " service " when they married, but without an idea of devoting their lives to it as a profession. To talk of military matters was voted " shop," the uniform was doffed whenever it was practicable, a rich man's son generally sold out or exchanged when the Regiment was ordered to a disagreeable station. The Crimea afforded more than one example of men incapable of bearing hardship, and who were not ashamed to leave their comrades in the midst of one of the most trying campaigns of modern times, and of wives and mothers who hailed the return of dear Arthur or dear Augustus unwounded and unscathed, as if it was the most unreasonable thing in the world for any one to expect men " brought up as they had been " to endure bad food, bad lodging and the inclemency of the weather like common soldiers. In too many cases the old maxim, "*noblesse oblige*," was forgotten, and instead of being interpret-

ed to mean that a gentleman should prove himself superior in "blood and bone" to his followers, that he should be the hardest in hardship and the foremost in fight, it was taken to imply that he was more tender and delicate than his neighbours, and must sleep soft and fare well. Truly the trenches before Sebastopol were no place for those who must needs wear purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day, and so they went home again. But while some failed, many were ennobled and purified by the trial. Many a garrison idler who went out to the Crimea, returned a tried and gallant soldier. The nation recognized the nobleness of her army; she saw in the soldier the man who devotes his life and his life-blood that his countrymen may dwell in peace under their own vines and their own fig trees, that his countrywomen may lay their children to rest without a thought of danger, that his land may claim the glorious appellation of

"The inviolate island of the sage and free."

War was seen to be no pageant but a stern and dreadful reality, the soldier no trifier but a self-devoted warrior. The nation awoke to this perception; it thrilled "the stout heart of England's Queen," and she expressed the feeling of her people in giving vent to her own generous emotions and queenly sympathies. That red tunic which it pleased Her Majesty to wear, and which was made a subject of mirth by the light-minded foreigner, only marked her desire to identify herself with "her beloved troops," and to show herself the Head of the Army as she is the Head of the Nation.

The hurricane which has swept over India has deepened and strengthened this feeling. There is no father in Great Britain who is not now proud to have a son in the army; there is no man who does not raise his head, when he thinks of his brotherhood with the hundreds of heroes who have been made known by these terrible events, and with those noble women whose conduct has been such, that, to use Lord Palmerston's words, it will be henceforward praise enough for any man to say, he has "shown the courage of an Englishwoman."

Captain Mowbray Thompson speaks of a young and very attractive woman, whose attached husband had sent her down the country for safety, and who, long after she had been caught (as it appeared by mere accident,) and perished in the storm at Cawnpore, continued to address letters to her and congratulate himself on her "being safe in Calcutta."

"Two or three days after the arrival of the tidings from Delhi of the massacre which had been perpetrated in the old city of the Moguls, Mrs. Fraser, the wife of an officer in the 27th Native Infantry, reached our cantonments, having travelled dāk from that scene of bloodshed and revolt. The

native driver who had taken her up in the precincts of the city, brought her faithfully to the end of her hazardous journey of 266 miles. The exposure which she had undergone was evident from a bullet that had pierced the carriage. Her flight from Delhi was but the beginning of the sorrows of this unfortunate lady, though she deserves rather to be commemorated for her virtues than her sufferings. During the horrors of the siege she won the admiration of all our party by her indefatigable attentions to the wounded. Neither danger nor fatigue seemed to have power to suspend her ministry of mercy. Even on the fatal morning of embarkation, although she had escaped to the boats with scarcely any clothing upon her, in the thickest of the deadly volleys poured upon us from the banks, she appeared alike indifferent to danger and to her own scanty covering; while with perfect equanimity and unperturbed fortitude she was entirely occupied in the attempt to soothe and relieve the agonized sufferers around her, whose wounds scarcely made their condition worse than her own. Such rare heroism deserves a far higher tribute than this simple record from my pen; but I feel a mournful satisfaction in publishing a fact which a more experienced scribe would have depicted in language more worthy of the subject, though not with admiration or regret deeper or more sincere than that which I feel. Mrs. Fraser was one of the party recaptured from the boats, and is reported to have died from fever before the terrific butchery that immediately preceded General Havelock's recapture of Cawnpore."

We find three ladies taking refuge at the Flagstaff Tower at Delhi, and immediately setting to work with a Sergeant's wife to ease the sufferings of poor Colonel Ripley, laying him on "a nice soft rezai," and bathing his temples with lavender water—one of the party, Mrs. Westwood, afterwards driving her friends in a buggy in the midst of the mutineers. Mrs. Wagentreiber, wife of the Editor of the *Delhi Gazette*, drove the carriage containing her children, thus leaving her husband at liberty to fight his way with his revolvers. He is said to have shot four men dead and wounded many more. At Jhansi, young Mrs. Skene, a mere girl of two and twenty, but worthy of being a soldier's daughter and a soldier's wife, loaded for her husband and Captain Gordon as long as they were able to fire. The latter was shot through the head; whether, as was first reported, the young wife fell by the hand of him who loved her best, is uncertain, but they and their infant children lie in a bloody grave. The mutineers on leaving the house heard the baby, sole survivor of this hapless family, crying, went back, and murdered it also. At Cawnpore Captain Thomson relates that at the most trying period of the defence "our heroic sisters did not all give themselves up to despair even yet; they handed round the ammunition, encouraged the men to the utmost, and in their tender solicitude and unremitting attention to the wounded, though all smeared with powder and covered with dirt, they were more to be admired then, than they had often been in far different costume, when arrayed for the glittering ball-room."

The miseries to which women are exposed in war, and the danger of a man being diverted from his duty by anxiety for the safe-

ty of those dependant on him, have rendered it a question whether soldiers should marry. The gallant Major Hodson writes on this subject.

"Brigadier Grant, like dear Sir Henry Lawrence (though both married men themselves) says, that soldiers have no business to marry; under the idea that anxiety for their wives' welfare and safety, often induces men to hesitate to run risks which they would otherwise cheerfully undergo. I, on a less selfish principle, question very much whether men have any right to expose their wives to such misery and anxiety as during the last few months have fallen to the lot of so many; and yet it seems hard to say that soldiers, who have so much to endure at times for the sake of others and of their common country, should be denied the happiness of married life, because times of danger will sometimes occur, and certain I am, that the love of a noble-hearted woman nerves our arm to daring and honor. Happy however, is the woman whose husband is not a soldier."

Now that so many of our women have added fresh lustre to their country's name by patient courage and endurance, let none other undertake the duties of a soldier's wife unless she feels capable of doing likewise, unless she can in every case consider her husband's duty as paramount to all other considerations, and encourage him to do it without a thought of his safety or of herself. A soldier is self-consecrated to his country, he has pledged himself to risk life and limb for the common weal, he is not only bound to do so by the general laws of honor, but he has publicly professed his willingness to do so; just as all men are bound to obey the law of God, but one who professes to be a Christian is doubly bound to do so, having confessed his consciousness of the obligation and vowed to fulfil it. We have the highest authority for likening the Christian life to that of the soldier. There is, first, *self-devotion*;—"Because He laid down His life for us, we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Secondly, *self-denial*;—"Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." Thirdly, *Readiness to obey*;—"No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." A soldier must be ready to march at a moment's notice whithersoever his Commander orders. His life is thus an outward picture of the Christian character, and no woman should marry a soldier unless she feels sure that she will not hold him back from danger or duty; and many have nobly fulfilled this condition under circumstances of the most appalling nature.

Many of our readers may have seen those touching letters from the lady of an Officer of Engineers in Futtehghurh. They may have wondered at the young wife, not yet three years married, writing to her beloved father and family with death staring her in the face;—

"Ere you get this we shall be delivered one way or another. Should we  
SEPTEMBER, 1859. O

*be cut to pieces* you have, my precious parents, the knowledge that we go to be with Jesus, and can picture us happier and holier than in this distant land; therefore why should you grieve for us."

We are quite prepared for the worst, and feel that "to depart and be with Christ is far better." The flesh a little revolts from cold-blooded assassination, but God can make it bear up."

"I hope my precious family, you will not ~~alarm~~ alarm yourselves about us; we are in God's hands and feel very happy, *indeed we do.*"

After more than a week's suspense the poor young mother—then in the condition of all others to render her weak, nervous and incapable of flight—cannot restrain her anxiety for her eldest child;—"I often wish our dear Mary was now in England, but God can take care of her too, or He will save her from troubles to come by removing her to Himself." Was there ever anything more touching than her expression of gratitude at being in the midst of this peril with her husband? *I am so thankful I came out to India to be a comfort to beloved John, and a companion to one who has so given his heart to the Lord.*"

"And circumstances in which we have been placed during our sojourn in India have made the promises of God's Word so sweet and the consolations of religion so unspeakably great, besides endearing us to one another in a degree and way which a quiet English home might not have done."

Truly, though we would not have women exposed to danger, and that from considerations of more importance than mere life, though often even the best of wives may be a clog on her husband, yet on this path to martyrdom we cannot but say;—"Happy John Monckton to have such a wife as this by thy side!"

They shared the fate of the martyred American Missionaries of Futteghur, being shot at Cawnpore. On the 12th June shortly after the siege had commenced, Dhokal Parshad, a converted Brahman of the highest character who accompanied them, perished with them, with his wife and four little children.

Their martyred blood and ashes sow  
O'er all the 'Indian' fields, that thence may grow  
A thousand-fold!

There are few more touching pictures than that of the bereaved widows at Lucknow seeking consolation, not in the indulgence of grief, but in active service in the hospitals. One of these, when for a time prevented from continuing her labor of love among the sick and wounded, is described as passing her days in a complete state of prostration and apathy, stretched in her easy chair, dumb and indifferent to everything around her, and as starting up with new life and vigor directly she was allowed to resume her beloved work. And little less admirable was the behaviour of another Chaplain's wife, whose spirits were sustained by her husband's preservation, and who, when forbidden to go backwards and forwards from the Residency to the Hospital

"under fire each time," did indeed try to make herself useful acting as house-maid, "keeping the rooms tidy and clean," nursing the sick and wounded in the house, making flannel shirts for officers, a black dress for a newly made widow, acting as nurse to her friend's children, washing cups and saucers, cooking for invalids, and yet keeping a place in her affections for her "dear dog Bustle."

Those who gazed on the mournful ceremony of the reception of the ladies from Lucknow ('the Lucknow Heroines' as they were somewhat inappropriately styled) must remember the feeling of deep sympathy which pervaded every heart and every countenance. To some this sympathy was most justly due. It was enough to make the heart bleed to think of that delicate, fragile, newly-made widow, wandering in the jungle with her young children, lured onwards day by day by the hope of meeting with her husband, and so manifestly protected by the good hand of Him in whom she trusted, that when, on falling in with a party of rebel sowars she thought her hour was come, and taking one infant in her arms and the other by the hand, she went towards them and only prayed that they would kill without torturing her and her children, even these inhuman men were awed, answered 'why should we kill you,' and left her unmolested. And so with the young mother watching for the arrival of her husband with Havelock's force, that she might show him his firstborn in the "clean frock she had saved" throughout the misery of the siege for this joyful occasion, and after two days of first joyful, then anxious expectation hearing that he had been shot down as he entered the Residency, and then losing her boy after she had got him safe to Calcutta. But it is humbling to reflect that some of the Lucknow ladies have since been polking to the tune of "The Relief of Lucknow." The fact is, great trials do not alter the character; they only manifest and to a certain degree modify it. Some fancy that all who have gone through a certain amount of suffering or danger, must necessarily be thereby so ennobled and purified as to be henceforward incapable of the ordinary weaknesses of humanity, and they are not only grieved but astonished to hear of petty jealousies, little meannesses and spiteful gossiping among those who passed through some great ordeal together. It is taken for granted that a husband must be devotedly attached to a wife who has shared his captivity, that a widow must be heart-broken for the loss of a husband who was treacherously murdered, that one who has been severed by sudden and violent death from the one best loved, can never recover cheerfulness or open her heart to a fresh affection.

But the plain fact is that just as "cowards die many times before their deaths," because sensitive in the extreme to bodily



fear, so some endure untold agonies of grief, horror, shame, and indignation from events which leave others almost untouched. And the finest natures are those most capable of suffering. The patriot's heart swells with irrepressible indignation when the craven tamely submits to the degradation of his country ; the soldier burns with noble rage, when the clown in office serenely smiles ; one heart is broken like a Venice glass, when another is of too coarse a material to be injured.

And so all are not heroes or heroines, who have passed through trial. Though all have been exposed to the same pitiless tempest, one will droop and die under the nearest hedge, another will wing its way aloft like the eagle, and a third will fling the rain drops off its wings, and twitter and chirp as merrily as if nothing had happened. And so we cannot boast that all or even most of the ladies in India are like the Christian heroines and martyrs of Cawnpore and Lucknow.

"The Timely Retreat" gives a graphic picture of a class which we hope is not large. After skimming through the book, for to read it would be impossible, no one image of India or its inhabitants remains on the mind but an indistinct vision of a pair of fast young ladies in scarlet flannel jackets, each with fifty thin dresses from Paris, who appear to have come to India for the sake of teaching gentlemen to dance and ladies to dress, but whose purely personal adventures were scarcely worth presenting to the world. Take out the names of the places, and there is nothing to indicate the country they were in, or the state of the people. Indeed it is not likely they could have learnt much of either the character or the condition of the Natives from a brother who had so cordial a disgust for the natives to whom he had to administer justice. It never seems to have entered into the heads of those young ladies (we do not like to use so serious a term as minds) that there was anything to be learnt in India—anything to be done beyond "office work," parties and picnicing—or any better motive for coming than "a lark." There is nothing to show that they ever remembered that they were professedly Christians in a heathen land. They appear to have come and gone without knowledge of natives beyond their servants, and this although they belonged to our Indian family, i. e., one which for more than one generation has succeeded in realizing a competence in India and in returning from it as ignorant of its inhabitants, their feelings, thoughts, condition and progress as the day on which they landed. This is a feat which some people contrive to perform and of which they are proud. The gulf between Europeans and Natives is little understood at home. It is supposed that every one "who has been in Calcutta" knows India, and the most baseless assertions are listened to with respect, because no one sup-

poses it possible that a man can spend the best part of his life in a country who never has had one hour's confidential communication with an independent native, that he should have risen to be a Sudder Judge or a Member of Council and have been in the habit of legislating for races of whose customs he was ignorant, whose prejudices he attributed to the wrong causes, and, of whose names, titles, sects, habits he had only the most superficial knowledge. Half our blunders in India are to be attributed to our ignorance. One Civilian lays down the law regarding the Rohillas of the Dakhan, believing them to be Hindustanees from Rohilkund; another talks of a Mahommedan of rank as a "Rajah"; few know the difference between the two great Mahommedan sects. Some persons maintain that Europeans and Natives cannot have friendly intercourse together, except by the former adopting in some degree the manners of the latter; and as this is granted on all hands to be undesirable, the severance between the two classes is pronounced a *necessary evil*.

This however is far from being the case. Hundreds of Officers, some Civilians, and even a few ladies can testify that a European who commands the respect of the natives and who treats them with the courtesy due to his own character as a Christian gentleman, may enjoy nearly as unconstrained intercourse with them as with any other foreigners. He cannot eat with them, but he can ride, hunt, and talk with them. True, there is a certain degree of fatigue to be incurred and of patience to be exercised in the interchange of visits with natives. This must ever be the case where there is little congeniality of ideas, but we were not sent into this world to please ourselves; and any European and still more a Christian who is not capable of the small self-denial requisite for kindly intercourse with natives, he who will not give up a certain portion of his time to listening to their complaints, learning their opinions, studying their feelings and character, and entertaining them in friendly conversation, or even to those ceremonial observances to which Easterns attach so much weight, is not fit for any post of authority among them. A powerful enemy has been often made, deep disgust has been created, by the neglect of some mark of courtesy towards a native by a man in power, who never thought about the matter or "could not be bothered with the man." Not even substantial benefits will efface the evil impression made by the brusque and haughty demeanor, and carelessness of the feelings and prejudices of others, so common to our countrymen.

They too often say as an excuse for some slight—"Oh it's only a native." It would be much more reasonable to say—"it's only an Englishman," for the native weighs every word and gesture, and often feels mortified at an omission which an

Englishman would never notice. They are pre-eminently a ceremonious, and we are an uncereemonious people, and if we are to do them good we must not shock their customs or prejudices. This is far different from yielding to them as the Government of India has so generally done in matters of right and wrong. Neutrality between the Gospel and Heathenism—that is neutrality between Truth and Falsehood, is neutrality between God and the devil. It is an impossibility. We have no desire to share the fate of those rebel angels who took no part in the struggle between light and darkness,

“Ma per se foro,”

but cared for themselves alone. Lord Stanley has grossly libelled our Gracious Queen in the interpretation he has endeavoured to affix upon her Proclamation. Her Majesty say she “firmly relies on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledges with gratitude the solace of religion.” She is therefore not neutral, she professes herself a Christian and her Government a Christian Government; but Christianity teaches toleration. He who sends his rain upon the evil and the good “allows the tares and the wheat to grow together until the harvest,” but the wheat manifests itself to be wheat and the tares to be tares. Lord Stanley and his followers in this country would forbid the wheat-stalk to bear grain lest it should give umbrage to the tares.

Let Christians have as full and perfect freedom as Mahomedans and Hindoos, we ask no more. Let each one of us acknowledge with our Queen THE TRUTH of Christianity in our acts as well as in words, and let us “enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law,” let us “not be interfered with” any more than we should be in England. What is lawful at Home where perfect toleration is enjoyed, is lawful in India where it is a new thing. Our Queen never proclaimed NEUTRALITY. She proclaimed TOLERATION. The difference is unspeakable. I know that two and two make four, and I shall teach this to all who come in my way. If you choose to maintain that two and two make six, you are free to do so, you may propagate the opinion and shall live and die unmolested. This is toleration, but neutrality would require us to maintain that *two and two make five*!

One other subject cannot but be touched upon in speaking of intercourse with natives, and that is the necessity of the most scrupulous care on the part of our Ladies that their good should not be evil spoken of. Few things make so strong an impression on the native mind as the sight of a Christian lady—moving freely among men, yet maintaining perfect propriety and modesty of demeanor. He can appreciate sense, judgment and ca-

pability of any kind, but it is new to him to find them in women. A native cannot enter into Wordsworth's description of

A perfect woman nobly planned  
To warn, to counsel, to command,

and the respect paid to women in Europe generally appears to him, as in the case of Lutfullah, as wonderful and unreasonable. Every Englishwoman should consider that it is part of her mission in India to raise the native idea of her sex, and to do this she must most carefully abstain from whatever tends to lower it whether in dress or demeanor. The fashionable style of evening dress will ever be a scandal to natives. Is it too much to expect our ladies to protect themselves from misconstruction by some addition to their gala costume? Again dancing is looked upon as not only scandalous but menial. An English lady who respects herself, will never dance before a native; we would say, will never dance in India. It was but the other day that the Mahommedans of Bombay, in petitioning Government for the removal of their Kazi, complained above all that he is in the "habit of attending nautch parties and witnessing the dancing of immodest women," conduct which, in a person holding the high religious and judicial position of a Kazi, they allege to be *very sinful*. Surely what is sinful for a Mahommedan Judge cannot be decorous for a European lady.

Then again the freedom of conversation and friendship which is innocent with a right-minded Christian gentleman, is most inexpedient and blameworthy with a man who neither fears God nor honors woman, and yet English ladies will often run after a self-styled distinguished foreigner, careless alike of his morals and his position among his own people. Captain Thomson, in describing the career of the *ci-devant* Khitmutgar, Azimullah of Cawnpore, speaks of the folly of some ladies (not to call it by a worse name) in mild but significant terms.

"I can easily imagine that the bare mention of his name will have power sufficient to cause some trepidation and alarm to a few of my fair readers; but I will betray no confidences. Read on, my lady, no names shall be divulged, only should some unpleasant recollections of our hero's fascination be called to mind, let them serve as a warning against the too confiding disposition which once betrayed you into a hasty admiration of this swarthy adventurer. Azimoolah was originally a khitmutghar (waiter at table) in some Anglo-Indian family; profiting by the opportunity thus afforded him, he acquired a thorough acquaintance with the English and French languages, so as to be able to read and converse fluently, and write accurately in them both. He afterwards became a pupil, and subsequently a teacher, in the Cawnpore government school, and from the last-named position, he was selected to become the vakeel, or prime agent, of the Nana. On account of his numerous qualifications he was deputed to visit England, and press upon the authorities in Leadenhall Street the application for the continuance of Bajee Rao's pension. Azimoolah accordingly reached London

in the season of 1854. Passing himself off as an Indian prince, and being thoroughly furnished with ways and means, and having withal a most presentable contour, he obtained admission to distinguished society. In addition to the political business which he had in hand, he was at one time prosecuting a suit of his own of a more delicate character; but, happily for our fair countrywoman who was the object of his attentions, her friend interfered and saved her from becoming an item in the harem of this Mohammedan polygamist. Foiled in all his attempts to obtain the pension for his employer, he returned to India *via* France; and report says that he there renewed his endeavours to form an European alliance for his own individual benefit. I believe that Azimoolah took the way of Constantinople also on his homeward route. Howbeit this was just at the time when prospects were gloomy in the Crimea, and the opinion was actively promulgated throughout the continental nations that the struggle with Russia had crippled the resources, and humbled the high crest of England; and by some it was thought she would henceforth be scarcely able to hold her own against bolder and abler hands. Doubtless the wish was father to the thought. It is matter of notoriety that such ratiocinations as these were at the period in question current from Calais to Cairo, and it is not unlikely that the poor comfort Azimoolah could give the Nana, in reporting on his unsuccessful journey, would be in some measure compensated for, by the tidings that the Feringhees were ruined, and that one decisive blow would destroy their yoke in the East. I believe that the mutiny had its origin in the diffusion of such statements at Delhi, Lucknow, and other teeming cities in India. Subtle, intriguing, politic, unscrupulous, and bloodthirsty, sleek and wary as a tiger, this man betrayed no animosity to us until the outburst of the mutiny, and then he became the presiding genius in the assault on Cawnpore. I regret that his name does not appear, as it certainly ought to have done, upon the list of outlaws published by the Governor-General; for this Azimoolah was the actual murderer of our sisters and their babes. When Havelock's men cleared out Bithoor, they found most expressive traces of the success he had obtained in his ambitious pursuit of distinction in England, in the shape of letters from titled ladies couched in the terms of most courteous friendship. Little could they have suspected the true character of their honoured correspondent. Will Azimoolah betray his master into the hands of Lord Clyde, and, as the finishing stroke of his desperate cunning, pocket the reward of ten thousand pounds? That would be no unparalleled climax to a career so thoroughly Asiatic as his. Will he ever again be seen in London drawing-rooms, or cantering on Brighton Downs, the centre of an admiring bevy of English damsels? That would hardly comport with the most latitudinarian notions of propriety. Then let us point the moral, by warning Belgravia to be careful ere she adorns the drawing-room with Asiatic guests."

And again Captain Thomson says;—

"All accounts agree in the statement, that the fêted, honoured guest of the London season of 1854, was the prime instigator in the most foul and bloody massacres of 1857."

But Captain Thomson's book deserves a fuller notice than any other at the head of this Article. The "Story of Cawnpore" as it is the most recent, so it is one of the most interesting of the contributions to the history of the Mutiny, unequalled in this respect save by Edward Personal Adventures. We confess that we have no heart to criticise a work like this. Its literary faults, such as beginning

with the story of a bear-hunt in Cuttack, can be excused, when we consider the sad and tender interest that the writer must now attach to every scene connected with a lost friend and comrade. The heroic writer possesses one quality which is a sure index of a generous mind—a capability for hearty admiration of merit in others. The warm-hearted tribute he pays not only to his comrades but to the natives who were faithful to the ladies, to the gallant Civil Engineers, to the poor coachmaker, and to the stout-hearted Private's wife, awakens our liveliest sympathy not only with them but with himself. One person alone seems to have flinched under this fiery trial. The rest proved themselves a band of heroes, unequalled by those who fell at Thermopylæ, unsurpassed even by the defenders of Londonderry or Saragossa. But the heroism, the patience, the suffering fill us with stern admiration, not with astonishment. We have a Spartan mother-country who expects everything from her children, and is rarely disappointed; but the blunders of those in authority were astounding. There was first the *neglect of warnings*.

"Day after day news came of the growth of the storm. Etawah and Allypore, both towns between Delhi and Cawnpore, were plundered, and the insurgents were reported as *en route* for Cawnpore. The sergeant-major's wife of the 53d, an Eurasian by birth, went marketing to the native Bazaar, when she was accosted by a sepoy out of regimental dress,—“You will none of you come here much oftener; you will not be alive another week.” She reported her story at head-quarters, but it was thought advisable to discredit the tale. Several of us at this period endeavoured to persuade the ladies to leave the station and retreat to Calcutta for safety; but they unanimously declined to remove so long as General Wheeler retained his family with him.”

This obstinate refusal to take warning was, however, by no means peculiar to Sir Hugh Wheeler, but in this case this sad stupidity involved hundreds of helpless women and children in ruin.

The next great mistake was the choice of an utterly untenable position. The reason why, if a place of refuge was necessary, the best was not chosen, has never been given. Why Sir Hugh Wheeler, who appears to have begun his preparations, such as they were, on the 21st May, sixteen days before he entered the entrenchments, did not prepare to hold the Magazine, is incomprehensible. If it could not be held why was it not blown up, instead of being left to supply the mutineers with the very arms and ammunition which they used against us? “Thirty boat-loads of shot and shell that were lying in the canal fell into their hands, and the profusion of the material of war, which they obtained from the cantonments (where one magazine alone contained 200,000 lbs. of gunpowder, besides innumerable cartridges and percussion caps) furnished them with supplies amply

“sufficient for a campaign.” Even the arrangements contemplated were not carried out. “The General gave orders to lay in supplies for twenty-five days. Dall, ghee, salt, rice, tea, sugar, rum, malt liquor, and hermetically sealed provisions were ordered; but peas and flour formed the bulk of the food obtained. Either in consequence of the defection of the native agents who supplied the Commissariat, or because Sir Hugh Wheeler had only arranged for the support of the military at the station, the stock was ridiculously insufficient.” Surely in far less than sixteen days an ample store of provisions could have been laid in, but in more than one instance men in authority have preferred running the certain danger of being unprepared and unprovisioned, to the possible risk of exciting suspicion?

Then comes the most wonderful mistake of all—that of firing into men whose loyalty neither then nor since there was any reason to doubt.

“An hour or two after the flight of the cavalry, the 1st Native Infantry also bolted, leaving their Officers untouched upon the parade ground. The 56th Native Infantry followed the next morning. The 53d remained, till, by some error of the General, they were fired into. I am at an utter loss to account for this proceeding. The men were peacefully occupied in their lines, cooking; no signs of mutiny had appeared amidst their ranks, they had refused all the solicitations of the deserters to accompany them, and seemed quite steadfast, when Ashe’s battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler’s command, and they were literally driven from us by nine-pounders. The only signal that had preceded this step was the calling in to the intrenchments of the native officers of the regiment. The whole of them cast in their lot with us, besides a hundred and fifty privates, most of them belonging to the Grenadier company. The detachment of the 53rd posted at the treasury held their ground against the rebels about four hours. We could hear their musketry in the distance, but were not allowed to attempt their relief. The faithful little band that had joined our desperate fortunes was ordered to occupy the military hospital, about six hundred yards to the east of our position, and they held it for nine days, when, in consequence of its being set on fire, they were compelled to evacuate. They applied for admission to the intrenchments, but were told that we had not food sufficient to allow of an increase to our number. Major Hillersden gave them a few rupees each, together with a certificate of their fidelity. Had it been possible to have received these men, they would have constituted a powerful addition to our force, just as the few gallant remnants of the native regiments at Lucknow did throughout the second edition of the Cawnpore Siege, as it was enacted in the Oude capital. It ought never to be forgotten, that although the influences of this mutiny spread with all the impetuosity of a torrent which sweeps everything less stable than the mountains before it, there were amongst the sepooy regiments not a few who proved faithful to their salt, and who deserve surely as much as the revolvers have obtained execration. And amongst these are exceptions I, for one, shall always rank the native commissioned and commissioned officers, and a few privates, of the now extinct 1st Native Infantry.”

Captain Thomson speaks of Sir Hugh Wheeler as "determined, self-possessed and fearless," and he was all these, yet we know that he took no active part in the defence. He is said never but once to have gone out to the defences. It must be remembered he was 75 years old. The real leader was Captain Moore of H. M.'s 32d, whom Thomson speaks of as the life and soul of the defence.

When the General in command had done his worst, when upwards of one thousand Europeans, among whom were only three hundred trained soldiers, were crowded within these wretched entrenchments, then began that heroic defence, that depth of suffering, that silent endurance which ended in wholesale massacre, and has made the word Cawnpore a sound alike of pride and anguish to all but the coldest hearts and meanest spirits to the latest days of British history.

During 21 days with scarcely any food, with no water but what was purchased at the price of blood, with no rest, surrounded by overwhelming numbers, with no intermission of attack, reduced to feed on a stray horse or dog, without relief, each man fought till he fell—most of the trained men having seven and eight muskets each. "All through this first weary day the shrieks of the women and children were terrific; as often as the balls struck the walls of the barracks their wailings were heart-rending, but after the initiation of that first day, they had learnt silence, and never uttered a sound except when groaning from the horrible mutilations they had to endure." Can any thing more vividly portray the horrors they underwent, than this silent strong patience on the part of the women!

Private and General shared alike; there was no hesitation in fulfilling the most hazardous duty; fifty-five Artillerymen out of the fifty-nine perished in the batteries. Two pickets of sixteen men each held two unroofed barracks, and daily cleared the other barracks of the mutinous hordes who occupied them. "Three or four mothers had to undergo the sufferings of maternity in a crisis that left none of that hope and joy which compensate the hour of agony." Several persons became imbecile or raving mad. "And yet, looking back upon the horrible straits to which the women were driven, the maintenance of modesty and delicate feeling by them to the last, is one of the greatest marvels of the heart-rending memories of those twenty-one days."

At last when half rations for only four days remained, they agreed to depart. Captain Moore, who had not been very long in the country, could not appreciate the extent of native deceit and treachery. He received three hostages, and it is not clear why these men were not secured and forced on board the



boats with the remnant of the heroic garrison. Then came the massacre, the glorious charge of the thirteen, and the rescue of the four survivors; but for these we must refer to the volume itself.

The loyal and hospitable Dirigbijah Sing has received some adequate acknowledgment of his services. But have Mowbray Thomson and Licut. Delafosse received the Victoria Cross? What promotion or reward has been theirs? The Story of Cawnpore is incomplete until we know this.

Other horrors were taking place outside the trenches at Cawnpore during the siege. On the 8th of June a lady and child, of whom not even the names were known, were seized and brought before the Nana and killed by his order. On the 10th, in the words of a native diary, "one lady, one grown up young lady and three children were coming along in a carriage from the West, and on the road some one had killed the lady's husband, but not considering it proper to kill women and children, had allowed them to escape. However the troopers of the 2nd Cavalry caught them, and the Nana ordered them to be killed at once; although the lady begged the Nana to spare her life, this disgraceful man would not hearken to her. At that time the sun was very hot and the lady said "take me to the shade," but no one listened; on four sides the children were catching hold of their mother's gown and saying,—“Mamma come to the bungalow and give me some bread and water.” At length having tied them hand to hand and made them stand upon the plain, they were shot down by pistol bullets.” Another poor lady, the wife of a merchant who had for four or five days been hiding in the grass, came out on the 11th of June, and “the writer of this journal having gone in person, saw the head of that lady cut off and presented as a nuzir.”

Before his lamented death General Neill wrote that, having strong reason to believe that the Nawab of Furruckabad (whom we have just escorted to Aden!) had several English ladies in captivity, he threatened him with retaliation on his own women if a hair of their heads were touched—and that for this he was rebuked! He also mentioned that a mass of evidence had been collected regarding the victims of Cawnpore. Where is this evidence, and how is it that it has not yet been published?

Our French neighbours, who have been watching every turn and phase of the mutiny with the most lively, if not always the most friendly, interest, appear to have been struck not only with the heroism, but with the absence of all bravado and ostentation which has characterized the sufferers. The *Constitutionnel* pays the following tribute to their memory. “If anything could soften the bitterness of the sad news from India,

it is assuredly the spectacle presented by the gallant victims to the rebellion. The dignity of the British character, and the admirable strength of the Anglo-Saxon race which has performed so great a rôle in the history of the world, shine forth with splendor. Amongst the officers were many young men... who have wiped away all faults by the firmness *free from any ostentation* which they have exhibited. In the midst of torments, on the brink of the grave, they have displayed that modest courage which characterizes the man ennobled by Christian civilization. A nation which loses such sons must doubtless bewail their martyrdom, but *it has the right to be proud of them.*"

Another trait must appear equally remarkable to them, and that is the open confession of faith made by so many, not only of the women, but of the military. Old Generals, men in the flower of their age, young lads entering into life, are not ashamed to profess their faith in Christ, and their trust in their Father which is in Heaven. Not only two forlorn ladies, languishing for months in the hands of their captors, are cheered by a passage in Isaiah; not only does the Missionary's wife profess her willingness to die if her death may but be more useful than her life to the cause of God; but the soldier going into action tells his wife that "his whole trust is in God and that he commits himself to his merciful hands," and the wife adds "Love to God alone gives peace that cannot be taken away."\* Two Civilian high in office hiding for months in the jungles of Oude, read the Scriptures together daily with their family, and gather strength for the perilous venture on the river. We find a grey-headed officer, rescued with his wife and daughter after great hardships, adding to the narrative of their escape this testimony. "Throughout this severe trial I have found the promise fulfilled to me and my family,—*"As thy day is so shall thy strength be."* Imagine the amazement of a French official on finding such words at the end of a despatch! We have all heard of young Cheek encouraging the Native Missionary to hold fast his faith.

Before the remnant of the heroic garrison of Cawnpore were massacred, "Capt. Seppings asked to be allowed to read prayers. This poor indulgence was given;—they shook hands with one another, and the sepoys fired upon them." Previous to this, during the uninterrupted conflict in the trenches; "the Station-Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Moncrieff, was most indefatigable in the performance of his ministry of mercy with the wounded and the dying. Public worship in any combined form was quite out of

\* Letter from Lahore.

'the question, but this devoted clergyman went from post to post reading prayers while we stood to arms. Short and interrupted as these services were, they proved an invaluable privilege." A young Officer of two or three years' standing wrote, when expecting his Regiment to mutiny ;—" I went to the guard. They made me lie down which I did and fell asleep (after a tiresome march.) On awaking, a havildar was fanning me, and a lot of sepoy's all round looking at me as if I was a baby. I have little time to attend to prayer, but I assure you nothing can give comfort in a case like this but an assured hope of being God's—and then 'Who can harm us?'" A week after, the corps was disarmed and the young Christian volunteered to accompany the Siege Train to Delhi. The day before he was killed he wrote ;—" I hope, please God, to see you all again, and relate my adventures, but, if not, I hope there will not be a sorrowful face in the family, as we must all die, and it does not matter who goes to heaven first." The next day he was *there*. A letter from Kolapore relates that when the 27th Regt. Bombay N. I. mutinied and murdered three of their officers, with much danger and difficulty all the other Europeans in the place reached the Residency, and " their first act on arriving was to kneel down and thank God for their safety."

So long as we have Christian Officers as well as Christian women we do not fear for India. One consideration forces itself on our minds in reading every narrative of the Rebellion, and that is how great have been the results from inadequate means, how small the results where the material for producing them has been abundant. The first turn of the tide was under the gallant Neill. He saved Benares and Allahabad. Then Havelock was led on from victory to victory against overwhelming odds ; and even when reinforced by Outram the troops who saved Lucknow were utterly disproportioned to the work they performed. Delhi was taken by a force no larger than that which first sat down before its walls ; and nothing comparable to these exploits has been done by the powerful armies and siege trains which subsequently took the field, as if to make it manifest to all that it is " not by might nor by power," but God alone who hath given us the victory.

- ART. VI.—1. *General Regulations of the Madras Army.* Adjutant General's Office, Fort Saint George.
2. *Standing Orders for the Native Infantry of the Madras Army.* Adjutant General's Office, Fort Saint George.
3. *General Orders of the Madras Army, from 1800 to 1839.*

A PERIOD will come, when the local and personal events of the Revolt in India will merge into the general outline of what has occurred, when the historian may look on years subsequent as well as years antecedent to the outbreak, and when deductions from this scrutiny will be so obvious, that the folks of those days will wonder at the present difficulty we have in indicating our past fault, and deciding on our future course. At such a time one startling anomaly will attract their attention more vividly, we may safely suppose, than it has apparently done in these existing times. They will see that under one Government there existed a gigantic Army; that one portion, revolting, threatened to subvert our rule in India, but that other portions not only failed to sympathize with the mutineers, but readily and resolutely encountered them in the cause of loyalty and good faith. More than this, they will find a scale of disaffection strangely graduated, from the entire Revolt of Bengal—to the partial mutinies of Bombay—and so to the perfect staunchness of Madras. They will doubtless investigate the causes of this variation in the temper and disposition of our troops, and draw valuable results from this judicious comparison. But the most superficial observer will acknowledge it is strange that the public now-a-days, in England and in India, have looked with such stolid apathy on what is really and truly one of the most pregnant occurrences in the mutiny. Although it has been impossible entirely to overlook the wide difference between the conduct of our military subjects in the North and those in the South of India, still the safety which has resulted from this, is simply acquiesced in as a fact, the causes of which we cannot remember to have seen discussed in any of the numerous publications on Indian affairs. We find in most writers an utter silence as to Madras and Bombay; and while the course pursued by the late Government has been professedly treated of in its general aspect, we have in reality too readily concluded that exceptional evil consequences may be held to vitiate the whole. There is a manifest unfairness in this sweeping mode of treating our late troubles in India. It is more safe, and more just, to balance the success with the

failure, and not, while reforming the bad, allow the good portions of our system to be overlaid.

It is obvious that a terrible outburst against us, as the late Revolt has proved to be, indicates a fault on our side, but how much more does persistent loyalty, in the midst of such a Rebellion, argue sound principles of Government on the part of that power against which its subjects will not rebel. The awful tragedies which appalled the public in its first sudden surprise, and the brilliant chivalry which lighted up even these days of gloom, have been succeeded by so many stirring events, that the peace and tranquillity peculiar to certain portions of the country have created no question, and indeed barely attracted notice. We suspect it is even now imperfectly known, that in 1857 and 1858 there were Zillahs where revenue was peacefully collected, and the usual routine administration never interfered with; and that these were more numerous than the districts in which our treasuries were plundered, and the Magistrate's gate-posts turned into a gallows; that there were Regiments where mutiny was unknown, and that these outnumbered the scoundrels who crowned their faithlessness with the massacre of their officers; that there were stations where entrenchments and loaded revolvers were equally unnecessary, and that these were as many as those in which every one armed to the teeth, and "being besieged," became the normal condition of all Europeans.

We remember the telegrams that went home, mail after mail, during our time of trouble. They led off with a fresh string of mutinies, and their usual accompaniments of assassination and bloodshed. Then came a notice of some small force struggling against hosts of rebels. As time wore on, there came to be mention of sieges and campaigns, and instead of the question of defeat or victory, it was of the thoroughness or not of our success. But from first to last, one single line concluded the messages; appearing, in its isolated character, to have been added as an afterthought. Unpretending and yet momentous, a very postscript in position and importance, the sentence ran thus—

—"Madras remains tranquil."

The public shuddered as they read of the extermination which paraded us in upper Bengal. They flushed with honest pride, at the dauntless front maintained against overwhelming numbers. Their hearts beat high, in watching the bull-dog tenacity with which we clung to Delhi, or the stern struggle which gained us Lucknow. And the three words at the end, with all that flowed from them, were probably enough overlooked.

They did not know that in extent the country thus at peace exceeded the districts in revolt, and that in it, during the last few years, Nagpoor, Travancore and the Carnatic had "lapsed," while in its very centre lay Hyderabad, a hot-bed of fanaticism and turmoil, from which we had, only two years before, appropriated territory yielding an annual revenue of half a million of pounds sterling. We suspect they were ignorant that to hold this extent of country—twelve hundred miles long by four hundred broad—we had but three European Regiments!

Of a certainty, the good folks at home had forced on them an acquaintance with Indian matters, which under ordinary circumstances they would never have acquired. But when we think of the medium through which this knowledge has been gained, we fear there are slight grounds for congratulation. We may be sure that for one who studied the standard works which treat of India as a whole, there have been hundreds who have taken their lessons on Eastern Affairs from "The Siege of Delhi," "The Defence of Lucknow," "My Campaign against the Rebels," or some equally warlike publication, suggestive of the most deadly antagonism between the Native and Briton; and portraying the one chivalrous and brave, the other cowardly, treacherous, and bloodthirsty. An introduction like this would distort any future study; but taken as the sole instruction regarding India, it is likely to be productive of serious mischief. One of the first lessons the late Revolt should have taught us is, that in India there are many distinctive classes; in progress, in customs, and in their feelings toward our Government—most widely different. No partial study of the people of a certain faith, or locality, or status, can ever lead to a just appreciation of native character as a whole. Nor can data taken from one class form a sound basis for general legislation. Each must be accepted with its own peculiar qualifications and capabilities; and we should not attempt to bring all under laws, which however admirable in themselves, or when applied to a single nation, are quite unsuited and cruelly unjust when forced on masses of inhabitants, so entirely and essentially divided as are the natives of India.

There are few who have not had opportunities of becoming acquainted with the constitution and management of the late Bengal Army. It attained an unenviable notoriety, and people naturally desired to know something of the troops who threatened to subvert our Indian Empire. Hence they have been freely and fully described. We cannot doubt however, that many will be glad to hear something of that Army, which during the late crisis has remained respectful to superiors, obedient unto discipline, and faithful to Government. We purpose then to do

scribe a Regiment of Madras Native Infantry; the men we have, and their characteristics; whence we get them, and what we think of them. Their thoughts of us are surely best shewn by their conduct during the last two years. They were fairly submitted to a trial of no ordinary severity. They passed through it scatheless, a result for which they and we may be heartily thankful. We intend to take an individual corps, actually as it stands, and by entering pretty minutely into its organization, we shall be able to give a better idea of the men than could be obtained from a mere generalizing account of the whole Army.

The latest orders regarding the composition of the Madras Infantry are dated 3rd December 1857, by which it is directed that recruits shall be entertained, as far as possible, in the following proportions.

- ‡ Tamulians of various castes, inhabitants of the Carnatic and Ceded Districts.
- ‡ Telingas and other Hindoo castes from the Northern Circars.
- ‡ Mussulmans from various parts.
- ‡ Natives of lower caste, or without recognized caste.

Subsequently a Circular was issued, stating that on account of the difficulty experienced in procuring Tamulians in sufficient numbers, permission was granted to enlist them and Telingas indiscriminately.

Probably none of the Regiments, however, are of these proportions, the order having been out for only a year and a half, and the men entertained during this period being the only men who have been taken at these ratios. We will now therefore give the actual composition of one of the Regiments, in which the sub-divisions into men of different castes and localities will be more fully shown. It is in fact the return sent in every month to Head-quarters, from which the authorities may at any time know the proportions maintained throughout the Army.

Distribution of castes in the . . Regiment of Madras Native Infantry—1st July 1859.

Castes.	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Drum and Fife Major.	Drummers.	Naiques.	Privates.	
						Privates.	Of these are Lance Naiques.
Christians, (Native,) ...	...	2	...	8	4	53	2
Mussulmans, ...	12	19	...	...	16	248	10
Hindoostanees, ...	...	2	...	...	5	26	1
Mahrattas, ...	...	3	...	...	2	9	1
Telingas or Gentoos, ...	4	19	...	...	25	452	17
Tamul, ...	4	13	...	...	7	102	3
Other (low) Castes, ...	...	2	...	...	1	77	...
Europeans, ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Indo-Briton, ...	...	1	2	8	...	7	...
Total, ...	20	61	2	16	60	974	34

From the above it will be seen that THE CHRISTIANS are proportionately weak in numbers, and indeed from the fifty-three Privates, there should be deducted thirteen who are Musicians, and with the seven Indo-Briton Privates make up the complement of the Band. It follows then that there are only forty-six Christians of all ranks, actually under arms and doing duty as soldiers. The number is undoubtedly small, and yet we believe it greater than the average of this class in the ranks of the Native Regiments. These men are, with two exceptions, Roman Catholics. They go in fact by the name of "*Romauns*" as frequently as that of Christians; and some of their customs not a little belie the Catholicism which should attach to their faith. They are none of them late converts to Christianity, but the sons of Christian parents, and almost all from the neighbourhood of the town of Madras. Their natural language, therefore, is Tamul; and the few who can speak English, do so from associating with the Indo-Briton bandmen, or from having been in the service of some European before entering the Regiment, but not from education. It seems difficult to understand how so few Christians are found to enter the Army, when we know that in the Southern portions of the Madras Presidency, they are counted by hundreds of thousands. If we consider thirty as the average in each Regiment, it follows



that there are only one thousand five hundred and sixty Native Christians in the ranks of the Madras Army. While Government has never held out to them any particular inducement, no scruple has ever been made to receive them. When in our military service, their position among their Hindoo or Mahomedan brother soldiers, is not allowed to be depreciated in any way; nor do Commanding Officers hesitate to apportion to them, whatever advantages smartness and good conduct entitle every Sepoy to expect. Still the fact remains that there is great difficulty in getting this class of men; and we can offer no satisfactory explanation why it should be so.

In a Regiment of Infantry the proportion of

Havildars to strength is as 1 to  $16\frac{1}{2}$ .

Naiques to strength is as 1 to  $16\frac{1}{2}$ .

Lance Naiques to strength is as 1 to  $28\frac{1}{2}$ .

Whereas in the Battalion from which we take our examples the proportion of

Christian Havildars to Christian strength is as 1 to  $18\frac{1}{2}$ .

Christian Naiques to Christian strength is as 1 to  $9\frac{1}{2}$ .

Christian Lance Naiques to Christian strength is as 1 to  $18\frac{1}{2}$ .

It will be thus seen they have their full share in the non-commissioned grades. It is true there is no Christian native officer, but this is simply from no opportunity having occurred of making one. We now have however a Havildar very near the top of the list; and being in every way deserving of his Commission, he will be recommended and no doubt will receive it. Their official status being in no way inferior to the others, it remains to consider their social standing. And we very confidently assert that such of them as from their habits and conduct deserve to be respected, hold a position in no way affected by their being Christians. Their intercourse with all in the Regiment is free and unrestricted; and it does not appear that there is any wish to avoid them, or treat them slightly. They cannot sit down to a meal in the house of a Hindoo, nor of course can they intermarry; but in every other of the amenities of life, they join with their comrades on a perfect equality. They affect no peculiarity of dress, and have about them no distinguishing mark of any kind, by which they could be identified. The system of caste has not yet lost its hold over them; for instance, they will eat with Pariahs, be these Christians or not; but they will not eat with a Chumber (worker in leather,) or with a Pullar (a very low caste from Southern India,) even though they be Christians. Thus the Havildar we have mentioned as being near his Commission, is a Pullar-Christian, and though he worships with his brother Christians, he eats alone.

We remember a drummer—a Native Christian—coming to us, and complaining that all the Christians had refused him fire and water because he was accused of having taken water from the drinking vessel of a Chumber—a shoemaker. We sent for the head-man, an old Musician who reads prayers in the absence of the priest, and generally represents the Native Christians when occasion requires. We asked for an explanation of this unchristian proceeding; reminding him that with us all were equal, and such distinctions disregarded. This was acknowledged, as well as that it was opposed to the Catholicism of their adopted creed; but it was the custom and “what could he do!” So the drummer had to undergo three cuts on the hand from a rattan, make an offering of three candles to the altar, and three Rupees to the deliberative assembly; on which he was pronounced a “Romaun” again.

We have said that our Christian Sepoys were Roman Catholics with two exceptions, and these two men are Protestants. One of them became so in a way that deserves notice. It happened thus. When the Regiment was in Burmah, he, being then a Pariah, fell in love with a Karen girl. It is pretty generally known that these Karens are a race entirely distinct from the Burmese, belonging to a period probably anterior to the latter people, and peculiar in this respect that they have no natural religion. It is amongst them the American Missionaries have made such wonderful proselytizing successes. So much indeed have the Missionaries identified themselves with the interests of the Karens, that even such of them as are not Christians, are accustomed to look on the Missionaries as their protectors and referees.

The girl in this case was not a Christian, but before involving herself with the Sepoy, she prudently took counsel of the Missionary who was at the station. It is hard to say whether the Pariah considered it a descent to a Karen marriage, or the Karen objected to the Pariah ceremony, but the Missionary suggested an advance for both, by making them Christians, when they could marry on equal terms. The Sepoy and the girl at once entered his congregation, and were married according to the forms of the Church. When the Regiment returned to India the wife accompanied her husband, and they now both worship with the Protestant Missionary converts. However slight the man's preparation for the adoption of Christianity may have been, he is now entering willingly and earnestly into an enquiry into the truths of his faith; and though strangely brought about, his conversion promises to result most satisfactorily. Being of excellent character he has been promoted to Lance Naik, and it was but yesterday he came up for examination with the English school.

he read his lesson and was found to be progressing very well. It may be remarked that his becoming a Christian attracted not the slightest notice in the corps. The other exceptional case is that of a man who until the last six months was a Roman Catholic, but who has gradually withdrawn himself from them and joined the Lance Naique just referred to, in his attendance on the Protestant Missionary Church. The only parties who resented this, were the "Romauns" themselves. The ordinary Pariahs (to which class he belongs by descent) made no difference in their intercourse with him, but he was kept at a distance by his late co-religionists, who were directed to have nothing to do with him. At the Station from which we write, there are Lines for two Regiments, and these are in immediate contiguity. Exactly between them on elevated ground stands the Roman Catholic Chapel. The door is right in front of the main guard of one of the Barracks, within a very few yards of it, so close that the Sepoys on duty can see and hear every portion of the service. It is open all day long, and the coming and going of worshippers never ceases.

But with all this publicity of the most prominent and ostentatious kind, there has never been an act on the part of Hindoo or Mahomedan, which could be construed as one of intolerance or resentment. There is this to be remembered in judging of the question, that our Christians are by extraction (however remote that may be) Pariahs, and are therefore originally of a class between whom and the real Hindoos there exists a wide separation. The Mahomedan of the Deccan has caught the infection too; for, though he will eat from the hands of a Soodra—the lowest caste in the Hindoo scale, he will not eat food cooked by a Pariah. The Christian element in our Military Institutions, and its future position and capabilities, are deserving of the closest attention and study; but involve too many considerations to be casually discussed here.

We would merely add, that their presence in the Regiment, even in their present small numbers, is sufficient to frustrate secret combination; and that in case of any mischief breeding, they might be depended on as a body of observation; and, should the storm burst, as one of antagonism to the disturbers of the peace.

The MAHOMEDANS constitute one-fourth of the total strength of the corps, and have a high proportion in the commissioned and non-commissioned grades. This is accounted for from the numbers of this class having been much greater formerly in the Regiment than now. There is indeed a gradually increasing difficulty in obtaining Mahomedans in the Madras

Presidency, proportioned we believe to the general lessening of this element of the population.

The old men in the corps are many of them relations of the employés and officers of the Mahomedan Governments which existed in the Deccan. But now-a-days our recruits are mainly connections of soldiers in our own service. Bangalore, Arcot, Trichinopoly and Madras, are the principal places from which our men are drawn; and it would appear that the Mahomedan Military classes are condensing on these localities more thoroughly every year. From some of the towns which were outlying dependencies of Hyderabad, viz., Nellore, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, all on or near the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula, we get men occasionally, but in no great numbers. On the Western Coast the Lubbays and Moplahs, both Mahomedan sects, are numerous, but are rarely induced to enter our service.

We may be supposed to have overlooked another recruiting field of considerable apparent capability, Hyderabad. The country, it need hardly be remarked, is not Mahomedan, but the city itself is, to one's heart's content. Prudent Commanding Officers however have an inveterate dislike to Thakur-wallahs, city-men, of any description; and it will be easily understood that the objection is peculiarly strong to those from Hyderabad. The place is a hot-bed of turmoil, fanaticism, and debauchery. It is unsafe for a European to enter the gates. The spirit of the inhabitants towards us is bad, and they have a license allowed them, which shows itself more in the exhibition of contempt for us than in the maintenance of their own independence.

Again, the men who would offer to enter our service, are naturally those who have no ties in the place, unsettled, uncared for scamps, whose connections are unknown, whose characters are ruined by the wickedness prevalent in this Alsatia of the Deccan. But in truth, there are but few who offer to join our ranks from Hyderabad; the quiet, demure tone of a Madras Regiment, being utterly opposed to the dissipated, reckless spirit of these Swash-bucklers.

We have no Mahomedans direct from Bengal, although one or two are of families from the North-West, who have settled in Masulipatam. Our men are, with very few exceptions, Soonees; as are the mass of the Deccan Mahomedans wherever found. They are the real staunch worshippers of the prophet, with a proper respect for all the Saints, and a reverential observance of all festivals and ceremonies. Thus, the Mohurram is most thoroughly enjoyed in our Regiments; and though from its origin it should be a season of mourning, it has

become a time of fun and frolic. For a couple of months before the feast begins, a small subscription is voluntarily contributed from the pay of the Mahomedans, towards the erection of the "Tazziah." These imitations of the tomb of Hoosein and Hussein are made by the Sepoys themselves; and are, like all work of loving hands, generally extremely beautiful. Bands of masquers wander about the whole day, assembling at night in front of the Tazziah, where a crowd is always collected. The characters such as tigers, fuqueers, byraghees, soucars and bunniahs, are not assumed by Mahomedans only. Hindoos as often join in the fun, and mostly in consequence of vows registered, that if they succeed in some particular purpose they may have in view, they will assume a certain character for so many years. Only last year a Hindoo Havildar, who was bawling about the station as a letter-carrier, told us he was fulfilling a vow he had made, in case he recovered the use of a paralyzed limb the Doctors had declared incurable. He certainly took a good way of proving the success of his invocation, by rushing at top speed from house to house under a blazing sun. On the same occasion, one of the tigers, and the best of them, was a large powerful Madras Pariah, his tail being held up by an Oude Rajpoot!

There are in the Regiment about twenty or thirty "Wahabees." This class of Mahomedans musters pretty strongly at Madras, and it is spreading in the Army. Such of them as we have are good soldiers, but rather troublesome members of society. They are better instructed generally than the other Mahomedans, but profess greater book-learning than they possess. They are most determined proselytizers. The Soonees have an intense dislike to them, and there is a complete social separation between the two. They, in their turn, profess a contemptuous regard for the Soonees, whom they declare ignorant and bigoted, and to have forgotten the spirit of their religion in the form thereof. Not very long ago, we had a Wahabee tract brought to us, containing a clever condemnation of the usual way in which the celebration of the Mohurram is performed. Though written and printed at Lucknow, it was in the most simple Deccanee Oordoo; and was palpably intended for readers of the lowest capacity. It rated the Soonees most roundly for their worship of the Tazziah, and said they were "as bad as the Hindoos who worship sticks and stones; or the Christians, who worship the Virgin Mary!"

As a body the Mahomedans are good stuff for soldiers. They are generally in extremes, either better than the average or worse than the average; but they seldom are in that large class of our soldiery—composed of men of no capacity but great

steadiness, whose qualifications are principally negative. The Mahomedan has a natural aptitude for command, but is wanting in many valuable qualities in a soldier. He is seldom so cleanly or neat as a Hindoo, and almost never so prudent. He will squander his money in finery and feasting; and is consequently always in debt. He often talks of their former greatness, and excuses his indebtedness, by urging that he has a bit of the gentleman in him yet.

We now come to the HINDOOSTANEES, of whom it will be seen we have thirty-three. They are known among us by the general name of "Bengallees," "Purdasees" or "Hindoostanees;" and are not unfrequently erroneously called "Rajpoots." In reality we have three Brahmins, two Rajpoots, two Vaisya's, and the remainder Soodras; of the latter we have goldsmiths, weavers, cultivators, cow-keepers, and the like, but none of the very low castes. They come mostly from Oude and the neighbourhood of Cawnpore and Delhi; but one or two are from the Lines of the Hyderabad Contingent, men born and brought up in the Deccan. There is the considerable difference between them; that those from the North never bring their families with them to the Regiment, while the Hyderabad men do.

It will be observed that the Hindoostanees have more than their share of the Non-Commissioned grades. It happens that in this Regiment, we at one time had very many more than we have now, the proportion of Privates to Non-Commissioned is therefore apt to mislead. However there is no doubt that in many of the superficial requisites for a soldier, the Hindoostanees rank high. They are fine-looking, careful, and cleanly in dress, both on and off parade, thrifty, almost penurious in their habits. They are probably seen under the most favorable circumstances in Madras; their natural suitability for military duty stands out favorably, while their position and small numbers compel them to keep under restraint that arrogance which they exhibited when massed together in Bengal. In truth they are not liked by the Madrassese, and they know it. Hence they keep a good deal apart; and there is no sympathy of feeling, or social cordiality between them. There are many jokes and taunts about them which show the low estimation in which they are held. The rhyme, "Bengallee—Kungallee!" (a Bengallee—a poor devil!) was the popular definition of their character long before the mutiny broke out. And this, remember, not the true Bengallee of the Southern Ganges, but the various classes of Hindoostanees known to our men under that name. There is a quiet hit at their abstinence from the use of meat, as well as a not very kind reflection on their courage in the saying

that a Madrassee will slaughter, skin, and dress a sheep in an hour; but it takes ~~five~~ Bengallees to cut its throat, one to each limb and the fifth to operate. And then they are all day about it: for the operator always shuts his eyes to make the cut, and when the sheep cries out, they all run away! The custom which this class of our Sepoys have—of cooking and eating their food alone—necessarily prevents much social intercourse between them and the Madrassees; while the fact of none of them having families with them acts in a similar way. For among us, a bachelor is a waif, not to be trusted, but to be kept in his proper, outside, subordinate sphere of society. Again, a Hindoostanee Brahmin will take water from the hands of a Hindoostanee Soodra, but will not from a Deccan Hindoo whatever his caste. This assumption of greater purity rather aggravates the Madrassee who replies with the taunt, that in Bengal even sweepers put the thread over their shoulder, and use nothing but brass dishes.

The MARHATTAS, who come next on our list, are very few in number. They are admirable soldiers, intelligent, enduring and generally very steady. They hold, socially, an intermediate position between the Hindoostanee and the Madrassee; and though, in the celebration of their festivals, classed with the former, they mix more freely and unreservedly with the latter. They are from Jaulnah and its neighbourhood, and have their families with the Regiment. By no means abstemious in their habits, they are still careful and prudent, and are peculiarly well off. There is popularly attached to them however a love of intrigue and untruthfulness, which has rendered the word "Marhatta" equivalent to "a schemer."

Our next class are the TELINGAS or Gentoos, who, it will be seen, form nearly one-half of the whole corps. They are called Telingas as being inhabitants of Telingana; a term, in former days applied to a large tract of country including most of the Hyderabad territories as these existed a century ago. It will be more convenient however to indicate the localities from which the Telingas are now drawn, merely premising that the name does not mean a particular caste of Hindooism, but specifies the country to which the people belong. These men come from what is called "the Northern division of the army," corrupted by the natives into the "Narret-ka-moolik." It is the Northern Circars granted to the Company in 1766 by the Nizam of Hyderabad; on condition that they maintained "the Subsidiary Force"—the troops now cantoned at Secunderabad. Its Southern boundaries are Nellore on the Coromandel coast, and Bellary inland; and so with the sea on the East,

and the Hyderabad and Nagpoor countries on the West, it runs up for five hundred miles to Chicacole. This extent of country contains several towns of considerable size and importance; and has been the most prolific recruiting field in the whole Madras Presidency. The language spoken by the people is Telooqoo, which is believed to be an original, pre-Aryan tongue, and not derived from the Sanscrit. There are, among the Telingas, all classes of Hindoos, viz., Brahmins, Kshatriyahs, Vaisyahs and Soodras. The men we enlist, and indeed the only class who will enlist, are the Soodras. We also get a few Pariahs from this part of the country, but they will be spoken of hereafter, when we come to describe the "low or unrecognized castes" in the corps.

It is strange that while in the Bengal Army the Brahmin and Rajpoot preponderated over all castes, in Madras we not only have none of them, but they will not take military service with us. We have already said that the Hindoostance Brahmins we have in the corps, will drink water from the hands of a Hindoostance Soodra. A Deccan Brahmin on the other hand, will not drink water from the hands of any of the lower castes, nor will he carry arms. He conceives the Hindoostance Brahmins to be polluted, by wearing the military belts; and therefore considers them degenerated from their proper position. He by no means however abstains from other secular employments under Government. The Civil Courts are almost monopolized by the class, and in commerce they are busily employed. The Rajpoots of the South—called Rajwars—although the real Hindoo military class, will not take service with us; but do under native authorities, such as the dependent Rajahs to be found in different parts of the Deccan. If however a Rajwar enlist in the Regular Army, he loses caste so long as he remains in it. It will only be when he leaves it, and when he has spent much in purifying his defilement, that he will be again admitted among his brethren.

From the Soodras therefore we draw our men, and from every sect of this most numerous caste. Even with them twenty years ago, when a man became a Sepoy, though not turned out of his caste entirely, there was a ban laid upon him. Others—the civil population—would refuse him their daughters in marriage; and though admitted into his own family, he was kept at a distance by the general Soodra community. As however the Telingas increased in the Army, so this penalty died away. Public opinion veered round; and now the service is sought after, and one of our Sepoys considered rather a matrimonial prize. The Recruits consist of the agricultural laborers and every des-



cription of artizans. Thus we have field servants, cow-keepers, toddy-drawers, blacksmiths, tailors, goldsmiths, fishermen, purveyors of game (shikarrees), barbers and washermen—in fact, men of every possible calling. These are practically treated as so many independent castes. When a Telinga is being enlisted, and is asked to what caste he belongs, he will never say, “I am a Soodra;” but will answer “I am a weaver, or barber, or cow-keeper,” or whatever his avocation may be. In ordinary conversation also, the various crafts are invariably spoken of as castes. Although these men are all Soodras, each craft has its position in the scale of society. Members of one cannot intermarry with those of another, nor in many of them can they eat together. For instance a field laborer (ryot) will not eat with a weaver, nor would a cow-keeper with a blacksmith. It will be thus seen that though we have come to a low, we have by no means to an united caste. But we will have more to say on this general question after having described the Tamul Soodras, to whom the remarks will equally apply. The Telinga Soodra makes a willing, steady, and obedient soldier. He is larger and fairer than the Tamulian, but not so sharp. He is sober and prudent; but somewhat slow and dull. He has not the pretentious bearing of the Hindoostanee, or the spirit of the Tamulian; but he is alive to the advantages of our regular pay, and more willing than the restless, ambitious Mahomedan, to plod on to the Non-Commissioned grades; or, if his “nusseeb” be bad, to remain contented in the rank of a Private.

We now come to the TAMULIANS, of whom there are only one hundred and twenty-six in the corps. This is however probably not below the average of other Regiments, for, particularly lately, there has been a difficulty in getting this class of men; not from lessening numbers, but because they are too well off in their own employments for military service to be any inducement to them. The Tamul race are so called from their language which bears the same name; it is an original tongue and pre-Aryan. Their country may be said to be all Southward of Bellary and Nellore; although it must be remembered that there are many other races, speaking other languages, within this boundary line. We should exclude, for instance, the whole Western or Malabar coast, from which the Army gets no men. The Nairs of the Malabar Provinces or Bunters of Canara, both Malayalum-speaking races, do not enter our ranks; but the Canarèse-speaking Mysoreans are got in considerable numbers.

Our Tamul recruits are obtained from Tinnivelly, Madura,

Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Salem and Madras, and in the country neighbouring these towns. They are short, very dark, and very smart fellows, the real, original Madras Hindoo Sepoy, for it is only lately the Telingas have equalled them in our Army. They have more quickness than the Telingas, whom they consider a stupid set. Among the Tamulians there are all castes from the Brahmin to the Soodra; but only the latter are in our service, the higher castes cannot bear arms with us. As with the Telingas, our Tamul recruits are of every possible sect or occupation, it is needless therefore repeating those we have given in describing the former people. We have but to add one, the thieving profession, which the Tamulians have raised to a legitimate class and from whom we have some men. These are the Cullers, (Colleries of Orme,) a rude tribe from the neighbourhood of Madura. We have also Tamul Pariahs and other unrecognized castes, who will fall to be described hereafter. The Telingas are almost entirely worshippers of Vishnoo. The Tamuls are divided between the worship of this deity, and of Siva. The Vishnoo-bucht will not, under ordinary circumstances, go to a temple devoted to Siva, but a Siva-bucht will to one sacred to Vishnoo. The followers of both deities intermarry freely if they be of the same caste or profession, and there seems to be the extreme of tolerance between the parties. Dotted over the country, and in immediate contact is the worship of both carried on. These two grand divisions of Hindooism are readily distinguished by the Bhootoo or forehead mark, called often the caste mark, which it is not. The Vishnoo-bucht has the perpendicular line, or trident. The Siva-bucht has the round spot, or horizontal blaze of ashes. Tamulians and Telingas, even if they be of the same caste and profession, will not intermarry. Indeed they would seem almost to be bound to form matrimonial connections only in their own village, and it is rarely a Hindoo does so in any locality other than his birth place. A sepoy therefore proposing to take to himself a wife, always gets leave to go to his home, the community there apparently having considerable hold on family arrangements. Hindoo marriages thus at Regimental Headquarters seldom occur, for even the daughters of the sepoys have to go to their villages to obtain their husbands.

In the corps, Telinga and Tamul Soodras will eat together provided they are of the same sect or avocation, but this is a concession to sociability and common sense peculiar to the military service. The ordinary inhabitants of the country will not do so. Companionship, however, has broken down the restriction among the men, and sanctioned a departure from popular cus-

tom, which it would be impossible for an individual or family in civil life, to act up to.

Assuming the present Soodra to represent the Indians who existed in the Peninsula when the Hindoos advanced from the Indus, and conceding that it is probable the Brahminical invasion spent most of its force on the banks of the Ganges, it will be readily understood that the Soodras of the Deccan must, even in these days, have maintained a status considerably higher than their brethren of Northern Hindoostan, swamped as these latter must have been by the new Aryan race. While therefore from the head-quarters of the new faith, their social degradation may have been proclaimed, we suspect their position could never have been paltry, or their influence slight. They had numerous tribes directly subordinate to themselves, over whom they dominated much as the new invaders wished to dominate over them. Whatever the place he held in these days may have been, the Soodra as he is seen now in the Madras Presidency, prosperous, wealthy and influential, is a very different being from the outcast he is theoretically supposed to be. Our sepoy is taken from a well-to-do portion of the community, men of substance and confidence, who have a good stake in the welfare of the country, and who have by no means the feeling of holding a mean position in society. While it is true to say they are the low-caste Soodras, it is erroneous to suppose they form a degraded portion of the Hindoo population. It is equally a mistake to suppose them free from caste prejudices. There are plenty of these, but they have not been too much given into; and though their customs have been judiciously respected, many of their troublesome restrictions have silently passed out of practice among the men in our service.

The next class is described in the Table as "other (low) castes," and in the Government order quoted, "lower castes, or of unrecognized castes." Of these we have eighty, and they consist of sixty-seven Pariahs (Dhairs), eight Pullars (a slave tribe in the Madura Districts), and five Chucklers (Chumbars, or workers in leather). Pariahs are not really in the caste scale at all; still they will not eat with, or take water from the hands of a Chuckler or Pullar. There is a marked difference between the Carnatic (Southern), and the Telinga (Northern) Pariah. The former is forward and self-possessed, by no means abashed or ashamed of the position he holds, most thoroughly independent of his purer fellow creatures, uninfluenced by their assumption of superiority, and not to be cowed by Brahmin or Soodra. Not so however the Telinga Pariah. He is timid, subdued and subservient; and at present

fully under the influence of the men of caste. As an immediate counterbalance to the Hindoos of the Army they are useless, and would as a body obey whatever instructions they got from them. The explanation of this is, that the Southern Pariah of Madras and Trichinopoly, has long experienced the civil equality of the British subject. He has in many employments with the European community acquired a consciousness of independence. He has been born and reared free, and never known what it is to be an outcast. The Telinga Pariah on the other hand, is, in his ordinary position, the slave of the Brahmin, his mind and body alike in thralldom. He is generally a farm laborer, who receives only his food, and an occasional blanket; a serf, who is daily made to feel his degraded position. It is but lately these Telinga Pariahs have been taken in any numbers. Their admission into the ranks has not yet much changed their normal condition, but we may expect the impartiality of treatment all classes receive in the military service will gradually make itself felt on them, and that they will catch from their Southern brethren some of their independence.

The Pariah, as he is seen in the ranks of a Native Infantry Regiment, does not in many things contrast favorably with his fellow-soldiers. He is seldom so cleanly or so sober; his habits do not always gain for him the position denied him by his extraction; and though disregardful of the pretensions of others, he cannot, in general, be said to have acquired the corrective feeling of self-respect. There is no distinction whatever made in the treatment of this particular class of our soldiery. They may rise from the ranks precisely the same as a Mahomedan or Hindoo; but justice requires they must have the same qualifications, and their claims be made dependent on their fitness for promotion. We have three Pariah non-commissioned officers, and the case of one of them shows most strongly that caste, or rather the want of caste, is no bar to his maintaining the superiority proper to his rank. It happens he is one of the best Havildars in the corps. He passes over no faults, and exacts the promptest obedience from all under his command. His own careful performance of duty, enables him to keep up a strictness more feasible perhaps to one in his comparatively isolated position, than it would be to others. He is, while we write, Havildar Major of a detachment at some distance from the Regiment, the medium of all orders issued by the Officer Commanding, and obliged to exercise a general control over all the non-commissioned of his party.

The INDO-BRITONS, of whom we have very few, are employed

in the Band and as Drummers, and are of the same description as are seen all over India. They are generally the sons of European soldiers.

Having thus gone over the composition of the Regiment, we may now re-arrange them under a different form, from that adopted by Government, which will show the grouping of the men into well-marked, distinctive classes more vividly.

*Distribution of Castes in the — Regiment of Madras Native Infantry, 1st July, 1859.*

Castes.	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Drum and Fife Major.	Drummers.	Naiques.	Privates.	
						Of these Privates.	Lance Naiques.
Christians, ( <i>Native, in the ranks</i> ),	...	2	...	...	3	40	2
Mussulmans,	12	19	...	...	16	248	10
High caste Hindoos, ( <i>Brahmin, Rajpoot, Marhatta, and Hindoostanee Soodras</i> ),	...	5	...	...	7	35	2
Low caste Hindoos, ( <i>Telinga and Tamul Soodras</i> ),	8	32	...	...	32	554	20
Hindoos without caste, ( <i>Pullar, Pariah, Chucker</i> ),	...	2	...	...	1	77	...
Indo-Briton and Native Christian Bandsmen and Drummers,	...	1	2	16	1	20	...
	20	61	2	16	60	974	34

We may remark that it is not quite correct, in the above, to call Hindoostanee Soodras high caste Hindoos, but we have added them to that class, as shewing best the group to which practically they belong.

In spite of discordant materials we may safely aver that all ranks in the Madras Army work well together. This is due probably to the fact that no individual element has ever been permit-

ted to preponderate to such an extent as to thwart discipline. It has never been concealed or unknown that such as enter our service must part with some of their prejudices. But it is not the case that there has been any undue interference with the more essential points of their religion. There must ever be conceded a respect for the trust and belief of others, our fellow creatures; and we should remember that many customs in our creeds, acquire to each of us an importance dependant, not on themselves, but on the reverence time has thrown over them. Viewed in this light, we candidly think that in the Madras Army, the obstacles from caste are no greater than would be felt from getting together, in any quarter of the globe, men of so widely different countries and persuasions. Our recruiting field is immense—from Lucknow to Cape Comorin; and the really heterogeneous collection we have is but seldom realized. We have seen a guard before going on duty, drawn up in line, with the touch well preserved and composed as follows. The right hand man was a Rajpoot from Oude; next to him stood a Chuckler (Chumber) from Madras, whose proximity elsewhere would be pollution; on his left stood a Mahomedan of strict belief and old family; the last in the line being a Tamul Soodra from the Southernmost district of India; the whole was commanded by a Native Christian! Could any more discordant materials be selected from European nations; and when thrown together, would they be as forbearing to one another, or obedient and loyal to their masters, as our noble fellows have been?

The tone of our service being fixed, the natives have to a certain extent accommodated themselves to it; and there is a privileged license allowed them by the outsiders which is curious enough. They do things with the corps they dare not do in their villages; and in the ranks submit to what they would not off duty. Thus in the town from which we write a Pariah must not, and would not, dare to touch even a Soodra. In the line on parade, the men are correctly sized, and a Hindoo of any caste may find himself between a Pariah and Chuckler, and be jostled to his heart's content for an hour at a time. There are many other little differences between the Military and Civil Hindoo or Mahomedan; and the laxity on the part of the former is excused by his being considered, when he enters the Army, to have joined the "Sipah-ka-zat"—the soldier caste.

A Rajpoot must find it a difficult thing to stomach a reprimand from a Pariah. But it is clearly understood, and steadily enforced with us, that official rank overrides all social superiority; and in a lengthened service we have never known a taunt or insult on the score of caste, form a cause of complaint. Our axiom, most rigidly carried out, is that on duty, the fact of be-

ing a fellow soldier levels all distinctions. The Havildar Major of the Regiment is a "Culler", a man of the thief caste, but no one is more respected or could be more readily obeyed. He has a wonderful genius for accounts and a high character for probity. All collections of money for general purposes are invariably entrusted to, and managed by him, to his own exceeding relish, and the satisfaction of all parties. Speaking of general subscriptions, we may mention one, which shows that even with the many differences between our men, they are capable on some occasions of a considerable catholicism. And first we may say that no Fuqueers, Brahmins, or Byraghees are allowed to reside in the Lines. They are of course allowed to come and beg, but none are permitted permanently to occupy huts among the sepoy. This is a rule most stringently enforced, and we believe with the happiest effect. To each Regiment however there is attached a Cazeer and a Brahmin. The former has charge of and reads prayers in the Musjid, there always being one exclusively for the use of the corps, and performs the necessary ceremonies at marriages, births, and deaths among the Mahomedan community. The latter always comes to morning Roll-call, warns the men of the unlucky hours of the day; and tells of the proximity of festivals, and the existing condition of the moon and stars. He only is authorized to officiate on occasions of feasts and family epochs among the Hindoos, when the services of a Brahmin are required. Both these functionaries are chosen by the men, and sanctioned by the Commanding Officer. Once installed, they will allow no poachers on their premises, and form an excellent check on any enterprising outsider who may try to get to the weak side of the sepoy. They have no pay from Government, but each man in the Regiment gives half an anna monthly, the higher grades a little more, and the whole is divided into three shares. One goes to the Cazeer, another to the Brahmin, and the third to the Barrack-sweeper. Somewhat low company certainly for their religious teachers to be classed with an old woman whose sole occupation is to sweep out the Barracks. But the fellowship shewn in the mutual assistance of Hindoo and Mahomedan, is a lesson of tolerance few would believe the native capable of giving us.

The Madras Regiments are huddled in regular "Lines." That is, their small houses run in contiguous streets, facing inwards, one for each company; while a large street runs through the middle of the whole, and so divides the right from the left subdivision. There is a bazaar attached, with a Cotwall and two Peons, paid by Government, to maintain order. Most busy, bustling places the lines and bazaar are, for, as most people now know, the Madras Sepoy has always his family with him.

Wherever he may go in India, unless it be on service, there go wife and child, who look on themselves as part and parcel of the Regiment quite as much as the husband does. We believe this point in the organization of the Madras Army to be one of immense advantage to the men themselves and to the Government. In conversing with the men, and with the Natives of the Deccan generally, regarding the late Revolt in Bengal, they have invariably instanced the fact of the Bengal Sepoys being bachelors, or, if married, living apart from their families, as though not a cause of the mutiny, still one of the principal evils in the condition of the Army, which permitted so reckless an exhibition of bad faith. They speak most strongly and unanimously on this abnormal position of the Bengal Sepoy, viewing it as a violation of one of the primary laws of society. A few days ago a Hindoostanee of the Regiment returned from Jaulnah, where he had been on leave. We were talking of the doings of the Hyderabad Contingent, in which he had many relations. We remarked, "It is somewhat strange in such a disturbed place, and where the men must have been exposed to evil influences, that the Infantry of the Contingent, who are all Hindoostanees, should have been so perfectly staunch." He at once replied; "They all have their families with them, how could they revolt!"

In our Army bachelorhood is always advanced as a cause of any piece of folly or wickedness a Sepoy may commit; his being married, always cited as a test of trustworthiness. Accordingly we find that not only in theory is marriage a soberer, but in positive fact and reality, no surer method can be devised of reclaiming a thoughtless soldier, than by tying a wife round his neck. It is constantly prescribed by us as a cure for the mischievous vagaries of our scamps, they themselves not unfrequently, when in trouble, asking leave to get married; naively adding that after that, there is no fear of their going astray. The sedative dose is often increased by the addition, not only of wife and child, but of their poor relations. And this brings out one most admirable quality of our men—the self-denial and patience with which they submit to be burdened by their kith and kin. If the one thinks it no shame to eat the bread of idleness, he must certainly be encouraged by the stoic endurance of his benefactor.

The military objections to the families are as nothing compared to the political advantages. When ordered to the field or on foreign service, they are of course left behind; and while in garrison their presence is an unmixed good. The joys, sorrows, and responsibilities which attend, in ever varying phases,



the husband and father, are softening influences, which make most sons of humanity better men, and none of them worse soldiers. Give any one something to live for, something to lose, and the thought of those that will suffer by his fault will often rise up to dissuade him from folly and crime. And the remonstrances often come from a more determined voice than that of conscience. The wives of our soldiers know their hours for duty and drill perfectly; and a punishment parade is detected at once. The husband has not only to undergo the displeasure of his officer; but has to submit to the reproaches of his better half. Still more useful however is their assistance in preventing misconduct. A quiet hint conveyed to a mother is generally thankfully received and promptly acted on. While, on other, and we must confess rare, occasions, a message will come from the household, that the delinquent has been terribly misbehaving, and a sharp punishment will do him no harm.

The military tone which these ladies adopt in conversation is most amusing. For instance, while writing, a petitioner stands at our door. She is the wife of a Pensioner who has been turned out of the lines, and she is begging that his fault may be forgiven. She says;—"I too am a servant of Government, my father was a soldier. My husband served thirty-two years, and I have given my two sons to the same Flag. Do you suppose if I had been here, this old fool (pointing to her husband) could have misbehaved himself in this way? Do you think I do not know the regulations of the service? I too am a child of the Regiment, I was born, brought up, and married under your Flag; and under your Flag I will die. You have turned me out among a strange people, and I have been so for months now. Let me come back. I will swear below the colours of the Regiment that no fault of this kind will occur again. If it does, shoot me with musketry or blow me away from a gun!"

Another peculiarity on the Madras side are the "Recruit boy" and "Pension boy" establishments, attached to each Regiment. No boy is eligible for enlistment in these, unless he be the orphan son or son of a Native officer, or soldier (effective, non-effective, or pensioned) who has been or is in the service. The pay is three rupees and a half a month. There are forty pension boys, and thirty recruit boys authorized for each corps. The former may be entertained of any age under fourteen; and attaining the age of twelve years, may be transferred to the class of recruit boys, if considered by the Medical officer to be eventually fit for the ranks. But if they do not seem fit for eventual employment as sepoy, they are to be discharged at fourteen. Recruit boys not under sixteen, if passed

by the Medical officer, may be transferred to the ranks; but if unfit for transfer are to be discharged on attaining the age of eighteen. Vernacular schools are maintained by Government for their instruction, and they are made to attend regularly. An English school is kept up by the European officers, a small charge being made for attendance, which is of course optional. The boys are regularly drilled and instructed in every part of company drill (exercise with the musket excepted), and in every practical part of duties in garrison. It is directed, "they are to be considered in every point of view as soldiers; to be treated as such, and to be regularly trained and habituated to the performance of military duty." Such boys as are too young to attend drill, remain at home; but as soon as they can walk steadily, they come out once a week to learn how to salute. It is great fun to them, and rather amusing to see the little fellows toddling along in military undress, making a salute at a fixed point; and then generally breaking out into a laugh, scampering off to the rest, who draw up in line are ready to go through the same ceremony. From these infants there are squads of varying sizes up to the lads of sixteen who are drilled once a day, and who want very little instruction when they join the ranks. The big boys are detailed regularly in their tour for orderly duty with the Commanding Officer, and Regimental Staff, but it is strictly forbidden to employ them in any other manner. No recruit or pension boy is allowed to leave Regimental Head-quarters unless for urgent reasons; and practically very few are ever absent.

We are of opinion that this establishment is a most valuable one. Apart from the sharp sepoy we get from it, the provision here supplied for the widow and children of deceased men, is admirable in spirit, and is heartily appreciated in practice. It serves to keep up the old families in the Regiment, and makes it most entirely the home of the sepoy. A pension of this kind appeals most favorably to the ideas of the natives, and they themselves never fail to speak of it as the greatest blessing that could be given them. It is practically of advantage also, for the transferred recruit boys always make good soldiers. They are better educated than most of the recruits we get, and from daily acquaintance with military duties of every shape and form, they are thoroughly up to all Regimental work. The really superior men we obtain from this establishment will be apparent from the following statements of the position they hold in the Regiment.

*Memo. of "Boy Transfers" in the — Regt. N. I.*

	Native Officers.	Havildars.	Naiques.	Lance Naiques.	Privates.
Total strength in each grade	20	60	60	33	974
Of these are "Boy Transfers"	10	12	12	7	45

And now, comparing the advancement of the "Boy Transfer" with that of the ordinary sepoy, we find he far outstrips him.

*Average of Promotion in — Regiment N. I. :—*

Grade.	AVERAGE OF	
	Regt. Higher Grades to Regtl. Rank and File.	Boy-Transferred Higher Grades to Boy-Transferred Rank and File.
Native Officers ...	1 to 50	1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$
Havildars ... ..	1 to $16\frac{2}{3}$	1 to $3\frac{3}{4}$
Naiques ... ..	1 to $16\frac{2}{3}$	1 to $3\frac{3}{4}$
Lance Naiques ...	1 to 30	1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$
Total Higher grades	1 to 6	1 to 1

Or, in other words, a transferred boy has ten times greater probability of being a Native officer than an ordinary recruit has, and five times better chance of being a Havildar, Naique, or Lance Naique. While, of eighty-six transferred boys of all ranks in the corps, no less than forty-one, or nearly one-half of them, have risen above the grade of Private.

We frequently see notice taken of the system of promotion which obtained in the late Bengal Army, as contrasted with that of Madras. It will be advisable therefore to give our Regulations on the subject, with the result. All promotions in the non-commissioned grades are made by the Commanding Officer without reference to any one. Promotion to the rank of Native

officer is made by Government on the recommendation of Commanding Officers, whose nominations are almost never passed over, and with whom the men themselves believe the real power resides. Should it be proposed to pass over any man, the reasons for doing so must be stated. In practice there are generally about half a dozen Havildars at the top of the list, who are regularly superseded on the occasion of any casualty. Their numbers are reduced by pensioning, but rise again by incompetent men, who in their turn come to be passed over. The grade next above a Private is that of Lance Naique. It is ordered that, "no Private shall be eligible to the rank of Lance Naique who is not able to read and write, and who has not completed a period of three years' service in the ranks; with the exception of transferred recruit boys, who may be after two years' service. These limitations may however be waived in instances of distinguished bravery, and conduct in the field, or fidelity to Government." From the grade of Lance Naique to Naique, promotions are made by seniority only—as it is laid down that if a man be not fit for Naique, he is not for Lance Naique, and should be remanded to the ranks. Promotions from Naique to Havildar are dependent on passing an examination in duty matters, and possessing a fitness for the new office. It results there are generally a few Naiques at the top of the list who are not considered eligible for advancement and are passed over. From Havildar to Native officer promotion is obtained without examination, and is very properly made to depend largely on the amount of respect from the lower grades the candidate may be expected to command. In this respect the man's private character has considerable weight, as well as his aptitude or otherwise for the command of others.

There is no indication, in any of our Regulations, of its being the desire of Government that young men should be chosen as Lance Naiques. Permission is given to promote a soldier of three years' standing, but there is no prohibition as to the length of service beyond which Officers are not to go. The result is a mixture of promotion for smartness, and promotion for steadiness. Some Commanding Officers affect the former class, some the latter. But as the Command of a Regiment seldom remains many years in the hands of one Officer, there is generally a variety of both styles. In the corps from which our examples are taken, the Commissioned and Non-Commissioned stand as follows :—

	Average Age.	Average Service.
Subadars ...	54	36
Jemadars ...	47	29
Havildars ...	42	24
Naiques ...	33	15
Lance Naiques ...	28	10

This makes seven years and a half as the service at which our men usually get their first step up the ladder, and this may be looked on as fairly representing the general average of the Army. Individually we are not an advocate for too early promotion. We have carefully watched the manner in which duties are performed by the men, under young Non-Commissioned Officers, and under those of longer standing; and the advantage is entirely with the latter. We cannot see how it can be otherwise. We believe it is in accordance with the native character, and best suited to our system of promotion only from the ranks. The discipline, and, what is as important, the *temper* of a Regiment, depend largely on the Non-Commissioned Officers. It is a fatal mistake therefore to sacrifice the efficiency of these grades, merely with the view of obtaining a smart set of Native officers, which is the general object in promoting young men. No doubt we can enforce military obedience from a grey-headed soldier to his stripling superior; but as long as we promote men of all castes and persuasions,—men with no inherent or prescriptive right to command, we prefer to see that natural deference to seniority in years and consequent superior experience, which exists nowhere more strongly than in the Native of India.

In the Madras Army Hindoostanee fulfils its essential, original position of being the language of the camp. We have already pointed out that Tamul and Teloo goo are the languages spoken by the Hindoo portion of our troops as their natural tongue; but not the less true is it, that the "*lingua franca*" of our Regiment is Hindoostanee. Until within the last eighteen months, when our recruits (principally Telingas) have been enlisted by hundreds, there were probably in the corps not a dozen men who could not speak Hindoostanee, in addition to their native tongue whatever that might be; while one-half of our soldiers could talk all three of the Deccan tongues viz., Teloo goo, Tamul and Hindoostanee. Even now the Telinga recruits are beginning to pick up the latter language. The first sentence they learn, and it comes glibly enough, is, "Durma lia hoon, Sahib."—"I have received my pay, Sir."

It deserves notice too, that the many English words mixed up with out drill, are familiar to all in the lines. Not a few are

regularly incorporated with the native languages and in common use. The expressions, right—left—front—rear—clean—wrong—and such like, are hourly used in the ordinary domestic work of a family. We are assured by old soldiers that this adoption of English words is most markedly on the increase, and appreciably so since the children have had the advantage of an English Regimental school.

We have thus sketched in outline the constitution and social condition of a Madras Regiment, and we believe they are based on the soundest principles of political economy. Although our position in India is exceptional, there are general laws which we must observe, or at least cannot disregard with impunity. One of these—of peculiar importance in this country—is the necessity of keeping the military institutions up to the pitch of the Civil administration. This we entirely failed to do in Bengal. The Army there was a foreign one, for the Oude soldier had more of nationality in him than belonged to any people within our own territories. He was essentially a mercenary serving a Government other than his own. Having thus a faulty material, we omitted to mould it according to the more catholic principles of our general administration; and permitted it to assume a position and tone by no means in consonance with the condition of our other subjects. The Army was alien and exotic, and entirely wanting in any of the requisites for a natural allegiance to us as its rulers. On the Madras side the troops are precisely the reverse of this. Men from all parts of the Presidency are in the ranks. There is not a district or village which does not occasionally furnish a recruit. Each grade or sect of the Hindoo scale is represented; and even those beyond the pale of caste, can find honorable employment, where social disqualifications offer no obstacle to their military advancement. Principally drawing our men from the artizans and rural population, we strike deep into that portion of the community, who, most interested in the permanency of a strong Government, form the best foundation on which to rest our hold on the country.

From our recruiting field being so extensive, we obtain the greatest possible advantages of a pension establishment. Our men generally retire to their own villages and there settle down, still under the eye of Government—proofs of the good faith and real charity of our rule. And being habituated to obey and respect the power which fosters them, they are especially fitted to consolidate the good will of those among whom they are thrown. With its arms thus outstretched throughout the land,—the individuality of the men maintained by the close ties which

bind them to their village, and yet the entirety of the corps preserved by the presence of the families,—a Madras Regiment forms a ready centre from which European influence in its happiest form should be spread forth.

An officer has opportunities of winning the confidence of the Native, in a far higher degree than is possessed by Europeans in any other position: Our men are known to us not alone as soldiers; we see them in every capacity of social and domestic life. We can add to the superficial acquaintance with their conduct, obtainable on parade, the keener and truer observation of their private character, by which only a correct judgment of their real worth can be formed. If an officer's inclination as well as his duty lead him to encourage and maintain a free intercourse with the sepoys, he will find his men enter readily into the discussion of their personal anxieties and family affairs; giving him an insight into Native customs and feelings of the most thorough description. With doors open to all visitors, and a friendly word for such as avail themselves of the opportunity, he will find the popular idea of native reticence vanish before the multifarious confidences he will be submitted to. The children come to read their vernacular lessons, or to show the progress they have made in English. The lad, as he hears his transfer to the ranks, is anxious to show he is up to the Government standard, and has the will to carry a musket. The young recruit who has left the drill ground for his company, wishes to make acquaintance with his officer. The soldier of a few years' standing comes to say he has learnt the first and second part of the Drill-book, and is ready for examination for Lance Naïque. The sepoy of longer standing has to tell of weary hoping for promotion, and of his being superseded by more fortunate men. The old soldier, with his children by his side, will lament the high price of food, and show item by item that it is only by great frugality he can keep out of debt. The widow brings her child to be registered for the next vacancy in the boy establishment. The old lady comes to say she has arranged the marriage of her sepoy son, and begs he may be held in remembrance now he is undertaking heavier responsibilities. These are the private and friendly visits made at leisure times, which an officer should always encourage; and which, combined with the many matters brought before him officially, give him, if he have but ordinary intelligence and heart, a chance of mastering native character in all its phases.

There are but few minds—be the people who they may—so constituted as to resist the softening effect of a generous sympathy. We are in the right position to exert this influence over

our sepoys. Holding a neutral ground, removed from the prejudices of family or sect, we stand on a higher level than their fellow natives of any class, and have largely conceded to us that even-handedness which is the first essential for the proper exercise of power. With this superior facility for the successful administration of justice, we fail to win the trust of our Eastern subjects mainly through ignorance. The native seldom believes that the officer, Civil or Military, wilfully does an injustice; but he laments the many injuries inflicted from a want of information on the part of the official, or from his dependence on the numerous go-betweens who separate the governing and governed. If an officer content himself with recommending for promotion, ordering punishments, issuing pay, and seeing his men are clean on parade, he may be strictly within the "Regulations," but he does not meet the requirements of his position. If he do not enter heart and soul into the duties—undefined, but still duties—which arise from the moral and political obligations under which he lies, he will fail to carry out his share of the great problem England is this day striving to solve in the East.

He must aim higher than the red tape level, and must come closer to the hearts of his men than is indicated in the "Standing Orders." Let him be honest of purpose, frank in his bearing, and cordial in his treatment of his sepoys, and he will soon take a more generous view of their character, than if he see them only through an official mist. It is a taunt often thrown against natives that they have no gratitude; but we are of opinion that the gravest error lies on our part, in arrogating to ourselves as a class, a title to universal gratitude from the mighty mass under our rule. As it is however, we find many who personally have no claim, take credit to themselves from the general stock, and assume a right to feelings, no act of theirs could be expected to call forth. Now, we want our Officers, particularly Regimental Officers, who are thrown more in contact with natives than any other class, to begin with a little wholesome humility. They must give up trading on other people's capital, for, in truth, the day is passed by for that. There are discriminating minds taking the measure of their capabilities, who will judge of them simply as they find them. They should honestly ask themselves, "what have I done to deserve the respect of these, my fellow creatures?" And if conscience acknowledge shortcomings, they must set about their correction.

It is the part of Government however to take a prominent share in the improvement of their officers; and we would ear-



nestly urge on them the propriety of a full and thorough investigation into this portion of the "Army Reorganization." There is an entire absence of any reference to it in the proceedings of the Commission which has just sent in its report to Her Majesty; and this omission we think a strong proof of the narrow grounds on which the enquiry proceeded. In answer to this it may be said, that it is but the other day the authorities converted "Addiscombe" into the "Royal Indian Military College," and issued the regulations for the examination of Cadets for the Infantry Department on admission, and for their instruction and training in that institution. But, it is a study of these regulations which has convinced us that the position and duties of Regimental Infantry officers is quite misunderstood. We find that their "training" in this College consists of Mathematics—Mathematics—Mathematics. And, we ask all grades of our European Commissioned Officers, from the Ensign to the General Commanding a Division, if Euclid or Vulgar Fractions are calculated to assist them in managing sepoys. We are not going into the abstract question of the utility or non-utility of training men for a specific work, for the point is admitted in the existence of the new College. But we are clearly of opinion that the object of this Institution is of no avail, unless, in the words of Sir James Outram, its regulations be constructed "with a view to training officers *for India*, and leading their thoughts *and wishes from early youth to India.*" The italics are Sir James Outram's, and indicate the pith of the whole matter.

In conclusion, we would state our conviction, that constitute and discipline the Native Army as you may, the time has come when the management of it is infinitely more difficult than it has been before; and that this difficulty will increase with rapid strides. Adopting the "Irregular" system, enlarging the powers of Commanding Officers; and giving facilities for the use of the cat-o'-nine tails, are all so many steps backwards, are opposed to the spirit of the times, and as such will prove most perilous in their adoption. We can never go on educating the people, improving commerce and agriculture, and introducing Railways, on the one hand—while on the other, we return to the feudal system of military service, lash our sepoys, and make our Commanding Officers despots. On the contrary we believe our safest, and certainly our most honest course, is to throw into our military administration the same enlightenment which is being extended to our Civil Government of the country. At any rate, let our officers be thoroughly educated, their instruction being general as regards India, special as regards the Presidency to which

they are proceeding. Having thus started them fairly, hold out inducements for them to remain with their Regiments, and we may have qualified and contented men working, with a will, in our Native Battalions. Having such, we may convert our Army into a source of security and strength instead of, as many now suppose it, a source of weakness and danger. We may make our Regiments the nurseries of European enlightenment, and our officers the most advanced pioneers in the East.

ART. VII.—1. *Travels in Cashmere*. By G. T. VIGNE, 2 Vols. 1842.

2. MOORCROFT'S *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, 2 Vols. 1841.

IT was on one of those balmy mornings after rain which in the spring months of March and April render the Punjab climate so agreeable, that we had occasion to visit the rose garden of a Punjabee Sikh gentleman near Wuzerabad. From the upper storey of a summer house we overlooked the blooming expanse of rose-beds, and also the waving corn fields of the Chenab valley. Across the river in the distance there was clearly visible a noble section of the Himalayan Mountains, that famed Peer Punjal range, the great snowy barrier that separates Cashmere from India. Common as such sights are in the Upper Punjab, we could not but pause to admire the brilliant snow white and pure blue of those glorious mountains. Our friend the owner of the garden, who had while employed under Sikh regime resided in Cashmere, remarked that he who would see that valley must first surmount those snowy mountains beyond which lay the promised land. Thence the conversation turned to the various rulers of the country who must have looked on the very scene we were now beholding, to the Mogul Emperors who loved scenery and its associations, to Runjeet Singh of later day, who often came to this place but who cared little for such views, and who after Cashmere had been conquered by the valour of his Generals, never visited that valley which was indeed the jewel of the Sikh kingdom. Thus conversing we resolved to cross over that beautiful range and descend into the valley beyond it, and thus see with the eye that Paradise which had been presented to the imagination by the poetry of Moore, by the antiquarian research of Wilson, by the travels of Bernier, Moorcroft and Vigne; by the oral description of the many British officers, sportsmen and tourists, who yearly betake themselves thither for health and recreation; and by the universal tradition of all educated natives, with whom the beauty of Cashmere has passed into a proverb never trite though perpetually used.

In consequence of this resolve, during the early part of the following June, a party consisting of three gentlemen and two ladies passed by Wuzerabad, through the Goojerat District, to Bhimber on the frontier which divides the new kingdom of Jummoo from the British Punjab. This Bhimber lies at the foot of the first low hills that rise out of the plain lying between the rivers Chenab and Jhelum: and from this

point commences the hill road that leads right over the Peer Punjal mountains and thence down into Cashmere, and which the Mogul Emperors established as the great imperial route to the valley. This route, though not the easiest, is by far the grandest and most interesting of the four routes which lead to the valley, and is the one to which the attention of travellers is first directed. For the sake, therefore, of those who may not as yet have been to Cashmere, we shall first endeavour to give an idea of the real character of this celebrated route. When the intending tourist first scans this route on any of the recent maps (such as Thuillier's map of the Punjab) his eye wanders hopelessly through a labyrinth of topography, and he wonders how he is to get over all these places of which the geographical appearance is so threatening, and what manner of things he shall see by the way. These natural misgivings we shall attempt to remove.

From Bhimber to Shupeyon on the frontier of Cashmere is a distance of nine fixed marches, averaging fifteen miles each, and amounting in all to nearly 150 miles. The journey may be naturally divided into two divisions, firstly, that South of the Punjab ranges five marches; secondly, the crossing of the above-mentioned ranges, namely the Ruttun Punjal and Peer Punjal, four marches. We shall briefly describe each division.

\* First, then, from Bhimber to the foot of the Ruttun Punjal. It may be said in a word that you have to first to cross a low range which leads you into a plain, whence you cross another low range, and thence into the valley of the river Tovee. Then you follow the course of this little river which conducts you pretty straight to the base of the Ruttun Punjal. This part of the route is simple enough and easily intelligible. But as even in this, the simpler portion of the route, the marches, some of them, are highly interesting, it may be well to give a few details. The traveller would not be tempted to stay long at Bhimber. The place is very hot, and has nothing to be seen except the remains of an old imperial caravanserai. The staging house (built of wood and mud) is somewhat wretched. Leaving Bhimber you cross at once over a low sandstone range named Adutak into a rich plain called the Sumaree valley. Though the climate is still hot you feel yourself transported from the fiery atmosphere, the driving dust, the scorched plains of the Punjab, into the interior of the Himalayas, with clear atmosphere, running streams, and varied foliage. Then you cross another range over which the road is very stiff and strong into the Nowshera valley. Here you join the course of the Tovee mentioned above.

To those acquainted with the politics of this part of the country Nowshehra is interesting as having been a residence of the unfortunate Rajah Jowahir Singh. This Jowahir Singh was the son of the great Dhyan Singh, who was one of the principal ministers of Runjeet Singh, and was afterwards tragically murdered in the citadel of Lahore. When Dhyan Singh was high in favour with Runjeet Singh, he introduced at Court his elder brother Golab Singh, then in humble circumstances. When, some years afterwards, Golab Singh rose to such a position that after the Sutlej Campaign of 1846, he was recognized by the British Government as King of Jummoo and Cashmere, a separate territory was allotted to Jowahir Singh, the son of the brother upon whose shoulders Golab Singh had just risen to power. The separate territory of Jowahir Singh lay round this Nowshehra and Kotlee (which latter lies on the Poonch route to Cashmere). Here he used to reside, and rendered himself beloved by his people; setting a good example of how a native prince ought to rule with justice and moderation. But unfortunately there soon arose a mortal quarrel between himself and his uncle Golab Singh; of which we will say nothing except that there were faults on both sides. Jowahir Singh left his territory and went to Lahore. During a long and angry negotiation between himself and his nephew, Golab Singh quietly placed troops on important strategic points all round the Kotlee and Nowshehra territory. And one fine morning in the month of March 1855, that fair domain was overrun from half a dozen different directions. At that moment the spirit of Jowahir Singh's troops and servants was good: some were even really devoted. His people were generally for him. Had he then instantly returned to head his followers in person, he might have saved his dominions. But though a popular man he was not a brave one, and he staid at Lahore lamenting. Thus in a few days his territory passed into the hands of his great uncle. His servants, however, carried on for some weeks a hopeless struggle; and a desperate few got cooped up in the Hill Fort of Mungla Devoe near Nowshehra. They were starved into submission, and their Commander was sent to expiate the crime of his bravery and devotion in the dungeon of Reassee. He has recently however been set free. Rest of his principality Jowahir Singh found with us that asylum which is never denied to the unfortunate. And one of Sir John Lawrence's last acts was to obtain for him from the Moha-Rajah of Jummoo, an allowance of one lakh of Rupees or £10,000 per annum.

Such briefly is the history connected with Nowshehra. I have spent a day in a charming grove with a remarkably nice

turesque old well, the traveller may in the afternoon visit the town and its fine old Serai on the high bank of the Tovee, and see the upper room in which the unfortunate Jowahir Singh used to sit and enjoy the prospect, and from which the fort of Mungla Devee, distant about 8 miles, is clearly visible. From Nowshehra you march by the banks of the roaring and impetuous Tovee; along a road still but ornamented with rocks and with the red flowers of the oleander, till you reach a place called Chingus. Here there is a ruined caravanserai overgrown with brushwood, and affording countless "subjects" for a sketcher. Perched on the steep and wooded bank of the Tovee it looks exactly like one of the baronial ruins of the Rhine.

From Chingus you again march along the course of the Tovee, crossing and recrossing the stony bed, till you get to Rajouree, which is the principal place on the whole route. The town of about 3,000 inhabitants is beautifully situated over the river. Its climate is hot, and in the autumn very feverish. On the opposite side travellers are accommodated in an old imperial summer house situated in a noble grove of plane trees, the first which are met with. Underneath the summer house there rushes the Tovee, the water of which, as it rolls over the rocks, assumes the loveliest hues, russet, emerald, purple.

To Rajouree there attaches that sympathetic interest which always pertains to the scenes of misfortune. The Chiefs or Rajas were a few years ago well-known men, and are mentioned in all the books of travel. But they are now exiles, and their place knows them no more. Originally Hindoo Rajpoots, they adopted Mahomedanism in the time of the Emperor Aurungzebe, and were established in a feudal position, as lords of the Rajouree valley. Thus they remained till 1847, when Golab Singh of Jummoo was recognized as sovereign of these Hills. Then they refused to bear allegiance to the new sovereign, and the Moha-Rajah, with the sanction of the British Resident, despatched a force to coerce them. At that time Nuwab Imamooddeen was Governor of Cashmere, and was bound to send a force to co-operate by way of the Peer Punjal pass. The Nuwab, however, himself sympathised with the rebel's cause, and took care that his Contingent should be too late, and should find obstacles in the passes. To this day there subsists friendship between the Nuwab's family and the Rajouree Chiefs on account of that affair. Despite this, however, the Rajouree Chiefs were beaten and driven out; and their deserted palaces, ruined mosques and family tombs are now shewn to travellers. But they obtained an asylum in British territory, and an allowance of £1,500 a year. In return for this kindness, they gave their sons and retainers to fight on the

British side during the dark days of 1857, when there was such sore need of good men and true to draw the sword against the traitor Hindostanees. To the traveller who now visits Rajouree it is a curious reflection, that this place has produced men to fight side by side with our English soldiers on the battle-fields of Oude.

From Rajouree you march up a green cultivated valley with soft misty effects such as Copley Fielding would have loved to paint, past a noble ruined caravanserai, to Thanna. Here you first feel the commencement of an English climate, and see your first cascade. You are to ascend the Ruttun Punjal range, quitting the valley of the Tovee; and the first section of the journey is done.

The Peer Punjal and the Ruttun Punjal run parallel to each other from East to West. The Peer is nature's great wall, with snow-clad battlements, guarding Cashmere on the South: the Ruttun is its outwork or first parallel. The traveller then ascends the Ruttun 8,000 feet above the level of the sea and descends into a glorious valley lying between it and the Peer. At a spot in this valley named Beramgutta there join two hill torrents, rushing with the whitest foam through the midst of the darkest fir forests. One of these streams indeed is named the "white-water," as its surface is nothing but foam. Over this stream there frowns a rock of grand proportions, at the top of which there is a little fort. Near this there is a cascade of some celebrity. The spot is one of the most beautiful in this part of the Himalayas. The climate is delicious, and the traveller feels that at last he is within the bosom of the Hills.

"In the arms of Helvellyn and Catchedicam."

It was here that the Emperor Jehangeer, an intense lover of Nature, breathed his last. He loved Cashmere beyond any spot in his wide spread dominions, and he was journeying there in the hope of restoring his shattered health. His attendants wished to bury him at Rajouree: but the Empress insisted on his being buried at the capital of the Punjab, and the Mausoleum at Shahdera near Lahore attests the place of his burial.

From Beramgutta you follow the course of the white-water, passing through scenery adorned with every kind of rock, foliage and cascade, crossing and recrossing the dashing torrent some thirty times by little temporary wooden bridges, till you reach the foot of the Peer Punjal; after halting at the mountain village of Peshawar you commence the ascent. For miles you ride at a very steep incline over the surface of a glacier of indurated snow, and you hear a torrent rushing with hollow sound beneath the snow at your feet. Arrived at the crest of the Pass

12,000 feet above the level of the sea, you may bivouac on the snow, which to a traveller fresh from the burning plains is a delightful refrigeration. You see a little round tower the possession of which denotes the sovereignty of the Passes, and a curious hut in which dwells the Peer or Saint after whom the pass is named the *Peer Punjal*. You may see the Saint himself, who as the guardian genius of the Pass, is regarded by travellers in much the same way as "Maria" is by the Sicilian Mariners when they sing their Ave. And indeed it is no wonder that the Pass is the Home of Superstition. For in winter the blast sweeps furiously over the riven snow, any traveller setting foot there then would court instant death, and the Saint himself is obliged to "mizzle." Early in the summer morning the traveller commands an immense prospect over the lower hills, and the plains of the Punjab, and can even descry the minarets of Lahore. But about noon the mists usually gather up and obscure everything.

From the *Peer Punjal* you march along a narrow valley with snow at your feet and snow all round, past *Allecabad Serai* (a capital halting place), and then gradually descend towards Cashmere through a magnificent valley, the hills all around having their tops white with snow and their sides black with fir forests. And thus you arrive at *Shupeyon*, the first town within the valley. As the traveller approaches *Shupeyon* he gets his first view of Cashmere, and does indeed feel like a pilgrim in sight of Jerusalem. He sees the valley as it lies, a gem of the earth, at the foot of the snowy Himalayas. Its flat expanse is doubly appreciated after the abrupt precipitousness of the *Peer Punjal*. Coming from the Punjab in summer he has been accustomed to associate with the plains the ideas of intense aridity, of red, yellow, or drab colours. Now he sees *another* plain, but one so different. Everything is the very reverse of dust or heat. The ground is moist and delicately green; the balmy atmosphere throws a misty hue over the landscape. And the colours are either snow white, or azure, or grey, or violet, or indigo, or emerald. The march to Cashmere is now finished. The road, though everywhere very rough, is quite practicable for pedestrians or equestrians. Ladies can ride the whole way if they like, and they can always travel in Hill Sedan chairs.

Before describing the valley itself we shall touch briefly on the other three routes, namely, the routes by *Bunnihal*, by *Poonch* and by *Mozufferabad* respectively.

The *Bunnihal* route is now not open to European travellers, except those who might be going on duty, or by special invitation of the *Moharajah*. It is the direct road from *Jammu* to the Eastern extremity of Cashmere, and is used by the *Moharajah's* suite, family retainers and troops; it passes th



many of his favourite Rajpoot villages. Leaving Jummoo by this route, the traveller passes near the foot of a hill with three lofty peaks, and called Trikuta Deves, or the "Triple Peaked Goddess." Then commences the ascent of the Ludhaka Dhar, at the top of which there is a vast expanse of table land, where shepherds feed their flocks. The pasturage is magnificent, and thither repair, during summer time, the graziers with their herds from all the neighbouring country. From this place the traveller commands a remarkable prospect. On the one hand he looks right up to the mountains which bound Cashmere on either side, and between which the valley just lies hidden. On the other hand he looks straight down on Jummoo and the plain of Lahore. There is probably not any view in that part of the Himalayas equal, in scope and variety, to this. From here the road descends at a very steep gradient down to the Chenab river, there called the Chandra Bhaga. There the river, confined between rocky banks, rolls along its vast volume with terrific velocity. From rock to rock on each bank are strung ropes of great strength, from these ropes are suspended chairs, in which the traveller is seated and well fastened with cords so that he cannot fall out, and then the chair is swung across. In the summer season you see immense trunks of trees floating singly down the river. These are the cedars which are cut in the Pangee forests on the summits of mountains, and then thrown down precipices into the Chenab. The river then lending its aid to man, carries this massive timber, free of charge or duty, down to the plains. At the point where the Chenab debouches from the low hills on to the broad plain, swimmers are appointed to catch the timber as it floats. Thus secured it is carried to the principal workshops of the Punjab, and is used for the construction of Barracks for European soldiers, of bridges, of public buildings, and now of Railways. Such is the association of ideas in the traveller's mind as he crosses the Chenab at this point.

From the Chenab there commences an ascent of extraordinary length and steepness for eight or ten miles. This surmounted, the traveller finds himself at the top of the lofty Loonkote hill, whence he gets a view similar to that from the top of the Ludhaka Dhar, though not quite equal. Thence he descends into the Bunnihal valley, and once more ascending finds himself at the crest of the Bunnihal Pass. From that point on a clear day you obtain one of the very best views to be had of the whole valley of Cashmere. To a traveller approaching from the plains the prospect is most delightful and imposing. Then he descends by a steep road right down into the valley, and halts at Verna, the source of the Vidustha-Jhelum river.

The distance from Verna to Jummoo by this route is about

100 miles divided into ten marches. No snow is met with in the summer. There is no town or place of any interest. The ascent and descent to and from the Chenab, are great difficulties in the way, and with the exception of the prospects from the Ludhaka Dhar and Loonkote hills, the road has nothing to compare with the interest and beauties of the Peer Punjal route.

The third route is that by Mozufferabad. This is the easiest and perhaps the most frequented route to Cashmere, being the only one which is open all the year round and having no snow on it even in winter. And it is the only one at all suited for the passage of troops. Passing through the hilly district of British Huzura, now intersected by good roads, the traveller arrives at Mozufferabad, the frontier town of the Moha-Rajah's territory. In that neighbourhood the valleys and mountains bounded by the snowy range of Kaghan, bristling with pointed and ragged peaks, are very picturesque. The town of Mozufferabad closed in on three sides by hills, is a station for troops; but it is a small town devoid of interest. The road to Cashmere soon joins the course of the Jhelum, and runs along the right bank of that river to a place called Huttee. Here the cross road from Murree (the British sanitarium) joins it, shortly after passing through Chikar. And here the river is crossed by a swinging bridge similar to that we have just described on the Chenab. The road from Murree then runs along the left bank of the river past Uri to Baramulla; while the road from Mozufferabad continues its course along the right bank, also to Baramulla. Between Uri and Baramulla there are two marches, which are considered the most picturesque of all the marches in the several routes which lead to Cashmere. In that vicinity, the Jhelum-Vidusatha, after wandering so quietly through Cashmere, makes up for that by redoubled speed along a narrow and precipitous valley. The hills on the left bank are clothed with rich cedar forests, stretching down close to the water's edge. To the North West snowy mountains are visible. At two points Hindoo ruins are met with in the midst of the forest: they belong to a noble class of ruins which we shall describe hereafter. No traveller passes this way without being struck by the combination of forest, rock, rushing waters and snow. The distance from Murree to Chikar above-mentioned is four marches. The road is fair and a good deal frequented. But the Jhelum has to be crossed again half way, and the passage at that point is in summer often difficult.

At Uri, the road by *Poonch* joins in—the fourth and last route which we shall describe. From the station of Jhelum the traveller crosses the river, and passes by two villages named Meerpoor and Chowmak to Kotlee; or starting from Shamber, he may

go by a cross road to Kotlee. This Kotlee was the capital of Chubál, (so called from the prevailing tribe of Chib Rajpoots,) the territory of Jowahir Singh whom we have already mentioned. The town is very prettily situated on a plateau with steep banks, a healthy locality. It has excellent accommodation for European travellers. About here the hills are clothed with olive groves; and the aspect of the country is pretty though not grand. Two marches onwards you arrive at *Poonch* situated in a valley, malarious from artificial irrigation. This is the unhealthiest place in all these hills. The troops and establishment maintained there are at certain seasons obliged to fly from the fever, to a spot on the hills called Mundec. Poonch is the capital of the small territory of Raja Motee Singh, the younger brother of Jowahir Singh. Motee Singh resides at Jummoo, and keeps on good terms with his cousin the Moha-Raja. After leaving Poonch you cross over the crest of the Hajee Peer mountain, and then descend straight down upon *Uri*.

Having thus touched on the several routes to Cashmere we shall now endeavour to give some idea of the valley itself.

Commencing with the capital of the valley, Srinugger, we shall conduct the reader in imagination to the top of the Tukht-i-Soleiman, a well known hill in that immediate neighbourhood. Srinugger is situated on the bank of the Jhelum-Vidustha river, underneath the lower range which forms the Northern boundary of the valley. From this range there juts out at right angles into the valley a steep hill of purplish rocks, at the foot of which lie the city and the lake of Srinugger. The hill is crowned by a small Hindoo temple of massive stone, called the "Shunkur Acharj;" but near it are the remains of a Mahomedan mosque, whence the hill is called by the Mahomedans the Tukht-i-Soleiman. The view from the terrace of the Shunkur Acharj is one of the shew places for visitors. And certainly the view is the finest in Cashmere, and probably one of the finest in the habitable world. Your eye comprehends the whole valley about eighty miles long and twenty broad. You get a perfect idea of what Cashmere really is, a *snow-girt valley*; an oblong plain flowing with water, luxuriant in flowers and trees and shrubs and crops and gardens; teeming with human life and brute creation; and on all sides environed by snowy mountains, which literally shut the place out from the rest of the world. We may indeed call the scenes "penitus toto divisos orbe." The valley is an oasis midst of a desert—not of sand, but of rock, snow, and glaciers. Cashmere is a gem, and the everlasting Himalayas are its set. Such are the traveller's first ideas as he gazes around this wonderful Panorama. At almost one glance the eye comprehends some two hundred and fifty miles of snowy moun-

tains : the Kishtwar range on the East, the Peer Punjal range on the South, the Kaghan range on the West ; and on the North the noble hills of Hurmookh, the highest peak of which towers up to 17,000 feet, and, overlooking the valley, reigns the undisputed monarch of all the hills immediately round Cashmere.

Then, looking at the valley itself, the traveller observes the tortuous meandering course of the Jhelum-Vidustha river, from the point where it passes by Islamabad at the Eastern end of the valley, to the point where it bursts through the barrier of the hills at Baramulla near the Western end. Thus the river wanders through gardens, and rice-fields and plane groves, looking just like the Thames or Severn at Home, perfectly navigable for eighty miles from one extremity of the valley to the other, constantly traversed by boats plying on business or pleasure, and forming the high-road of nature, far easier and smoother than the grandest trunk roads ever constructed by human hands. Then you note the varieties in the surface of the ground ; the hillocks near the base of the mountains sometimes crowned with temples, sometimes by villages, sometimes by little forts ; the slightly elevated plateaux (known by the name of Khurewa, a Persian word) producing wheat, barley, cotton, linseed, and saffron ; the lower lands waving with rice ; the swamps near the river verdant with water herbage. The theory asserted by geographers—that the valley was once a vast lake, becomes patent to the eye. Down beneath, at his feet, the traveller then sees, stretched out, the city and the lake of Srinugger. The city is not, like many oriental towns, diversified by minarets or conical temples ; viewed from a height it looks like a flat mass of reddish and brownish houses, with the river winding through the midst of it, and small marshy lakes all round it. Islanded in the midst of waters, it has almost a Venetian aspect. Close to it is the lake sleeping placidly at the feet of steep hills rich with colours of purple rock, and herbage of that deep green which is seen only in humid climates. Near to the city there rises abruptly the citadel rock of Huree Purbut crowned with a fort. Beyond that you observe another little reddish hill at the foot of which is the Manus lake ; and in the distance at the Western end you see a long silver line at the foot of the hills, and you are told that this indicates the waters of the great Wuillar lake.

Thus the traveller sees at one view all the leading features of Cashmere. If the reader shall, from our previous description, have formed an idea of the atmosphere of the region, he will readily imagine what a magical effect, almost what a celestial tone, it imparts to the whole scene. And then there is the vast expanse of sky visible at once, and diversified by count-

less clouds, which it would need the pen of a Ruskin to describe. Indeed this changeful sky adds infinitely to the beauty of the scene. Without it, so vast a circle of mountains and so long a plain must have an aspect of sameness. But when the mountains at one point stand out in pure blue, at another are obscured with fleecy vapours, at another are dark with gloom; when light fleeting shadows are perpetually chasing each other over the landscape; when the surface of the spreading waters assumes, in its intense reflection, all the changing hues of sky, earth, and mountain; then the spectator feels the endless variety of nature. If Turner could in his best days have painted this landscape, what a legacy he would have left to succeeding generations of artists. We have beheld many of the celebrated views in Europe so much frequented by tourists, and we are confident that the view from the Tukht-i-Soleiman of Cashmere will bear comparison with the very best of them. Lake, river, mountain, snow, rock, building, plain, foliage, are surely the grand elements of landscape; and these are all combined in a very high degree, and to an immense extent, in the great Cashmere view.

We shall now describe very briefly the city of Srinugger. As already mentioned, it is built on both banks of the Jhelum-Vidustha, which being there about seventy yards broad, forms the principal street of the city, just as the great canal does at Venice. Immediately over the river the great shawl merchants, who send their goods and agents to Paris and London, have built modern houses, in a style not unlike the Italian, with picturesque open verandahs in which they love to sit and enjoy the evening air. These people like to see Europeans, and a gentleman and a lady going to look at the shawls in the shop will be invited to take tea and cakes! They will also be happy to see you in the interior of their houses; and if you like Cashmere cookery (which is good of its kind) they will give you a tolerable repast. Their breads of various kinds, their milk, cheese, and fruits, are sure to be excellent. The carved wood work in the houses is generally very pretty, and so are the carpets. When a European visitor comes, a splendid Cashmere shawl usually serves as a cloth for the table. Their gardens are of course very pretty, and the vine growing almost wild forms beautiful festoons. The houses of the common sort are very rickety, and remind one of the Old Curiosity Shop. Timber (generally cedar) is largely used in building, stone is abundant, and excellent bricks are made. Lime is sparingly used, as being liable to injury from snow. The roofs are always of a gable shape, in order to withstand the superincumbent snow in winter. From the quantity of timber used, fires are frequent, indeed almost of daily occurrence. Not long ago

the Shergurhee, the Moha-Raja's palace and offices, were burnt down, and a quantity of valuable records destroyed. The streets and alleys are very dirty : there is no thought of conservancy : the teeming population is huddled together in a most squalid state. But the real high street of Srinugger, the river, is a noble one. It is crossed by seven bridges, consisting of a wooden roadway resting on massive piers of solid beams of wood piled one on the other. Sometimes small wooden houses and shops are built on the bridge, which then has the appearance which old London Bridge used to have. In the afternoon the river is full of rowing boats of parties going on pleasure, business or trade. At certain seasons the scene is enlivened by the boats of European gentlemen, who take a row on the river in the same way as they would take a ride on the Course. Often two French merchants may be seen with their red Fez caps. These are agents in the shawl trade. The next great street is the Fish Canal, excavated by Sooltan Zamoolahdeen.

The houses on either side of the canal are lofty, sombre and picturesque. This is justly considered the most characteristic portion of Srinugger. There are also two other canals. The city is not rich in public buildings. It has however a Jumma mosque, which is not very handsome, being utterly dissimilar in architecture from the imperial mosques of the cities in Upper India. It has no tall minarets. But it has delicate tapering spires of wood, and lofty pillars of cedar on pedestals of black marble, something like what the pillars must have been in the temple of Jerusalem. There is a fine Hindoo temple of great antiquity, and a large stone mosque. Both these have been turned into rice granaries. There is one beautiful shrine of Shah Hamadân situate on the bank of the river. It is built of wood; the roof is in a kind of gable form surmounted by a graceful wooden spire. Shergurhee, or Moha-Raja's palace, is a building quite new and perfectly unpretending. The only thing to mark it is the gilt cone of a Hindoo Shiwâla. It was here that the late Moha-Raja breathed his last during the most critical period of 1857. His son, the present Moha-Raja, is building a tomb of black stone to be surmounted hereafter by a gilt cone, at a place about three miles from the city. There has been no census taken of the city population. It may probably number 250,000 persons.

If the traveller shall expect to see at Srinugger picturesque costumes, and numbers of handsome Cashmeree women washing clothes at the ghats on the water's edge, he will be disappointed. In the cities of Upper India the people of all classes are fond of rich and positive colours in their dress. In some Eastern cities such as Cairo, the picturesque effect of such colours is remarkable. In Cashmere there is nothing of the kind. The upper classes wear white

turbans, and the lower classes, drab. The long flowing overcoat bound at the waist with a girdle of white cloth, is with all classes drab-grey, or black; the loose trousers are of the same colours or else white. The only attempt at colour is the coarse red dress worn by some of the women in the lower classes. The men are a tall, broad, handsome race. The women of the upper classes must doubtless be handsome; but no European traveller has an opportunity of judging of this. Certainly the women of the lower and middle classes, to be seen about Srinugger, are not remarkable in appearance. The children are often pretty and sometimes beautiful. It is perhaps superfluous to add that much the same rules in regard to the seclusion of women prevail in Cashmere as in India.

Srinugger is of course rich in various kinds of cloths, carpets, and shawls, made from goat's hair, or wool, or cotton. All kinds of armoury and cutlery can be made. The papier maché wares are excellent. We will, in this place, give a few details only regarding the shawls and the papier maché.

If you visit a shawl factory you will be ushered into a long room, with a number of wooden looms in it, at which sickly-looking men and boys are sitting. The pattern of the shawl is first drawn on paper in ink or pencil. Then the master workman (who must be a skilful person) places this pattern underneath some open thread work, which is partially transparent so that he can see the pattern underneath. Then with needle and coloured thread, he works the pattern on to the above-mentioned thread work which thus serves as a foundation. To work out the original pattern in this way demands both skill and intelligence; after that the operation is mechanical, though still requiring accurate eye-sight and delicate fingers. One man takes the pattern, worked out in original as above described, and reads out to others thus—so many red threads, so many blue, so many yellow, and so on. Others note down on paper what he reads out. Thus a number of scores, as it were, are written out at the same time. These are placed before the workmen. Each workman looking at his score works in the threads with his loom according thereto. This loom work is refined, durable, and expensive. A number of shawls are also made with needle and thread. These, though beautiful enough, are not so good nor so expensive as the others. The very best articles that can be made are the tribute shawls which are sent annually by the Moha-Raja to the Queen of England. Considering that the art of shawl-making has not been introduced into Cashmere since more than a hundred years, the development it has attained is remarkable. A large manufacturer in Srinugger will have as many as 3,000 persons in his employ. In the

best days of Sikh rule there were about 7,000 families engaged in this manufactory; there may be now some 10,000. At the rate of *five* per family this would give about 50,000 persons. The Revenue yielded to the Moha-Raja from the shawl duties may amount to *twelve* lakhs of Rupees, or £120,000 per annum. The demand for shawls in Europe is great and increasing. And though there are circumstances that retard the progress of the manufacture, yet more and better shawls are made at the present than at any former period. The great mart is of course Paris. Consequently the Srinugger shawl-merchants evince much interest in French politics. Their profits were for the time much diminished by the Russian war. When we were at Srinugger several merchants were anxiously enquiring about the pending hostilities between France and Austria, in consequence of which they apprehended a great fall in the price of shawls. We may add that the goat, whose hair supplies this matchless material, never appears at Srinugger. He can only exist in the snowy regions of Thibet. The Moha-Raja tried to domesticate two of these animals at Srinugger, but they sickened and died.

As is well known, there are colonies of Cashmeree shawl-weavers in several cities of the upper Punjab, such as Loodiana, Amritsur, Lahore, Noorpore. The shawls made at these places are equal in texture and pattern to the Cashmere shawls, but inferior to them in colour. The dyes of Cashmere are unrivalled. The natives attribute this unapproachable superiority to the purity of the air and the water.

The paper maché work is done in this wise. First there is a wooden framework, over that is laid strip after strip of paper in thin layers. These are gummed together. Over this substance is laid a white cement made from a kind of lime, and the whole is put out to dry. The paper substance thus prepared is taken off the framework, and painted over in various colours with floral devices. The painted surface is then touched up with liquid gold, and the thing is complete. Inkstands, cigar-cases, card-cases, and blotting-books, are the principal things made in this way. They are very tasteful and elegant.

The suburbs and lake of Srinugger now claim a brief notice.

At the Eastern end of the city, on the river side, there is a lovely suburb, where the Mahomedan Governors used often to resort, where later the Sikh Governors, such as the great Huri Singh Nulwa, the heir apparent Shere Singh, the Sheikh Imamooddeen, built summer houses and gardens; and where the late Moha-Raja Goleb Singh built several charming little Bungalows for the accommodation of British Officers. All European visitors now resort thither. There are beautiful avenues of poplar all round the place, and one celebrated avenue about a mile and half



long, planted some *fifty* years ago by the Mahomedan rulers, and sometimes used as a race course. This reminds one of some of the interminable poplar avenues of Lombardy.

The Huri Purbut citadel has already been alluded to. In the time of the Mogul Emperors, palaces, public offices and mosques, all handsomely built, were clustered round the foot of this rock. In a circle round there the Emperor Akbar the Great built a stone wall of great breadth and massiveness, strengthened with numerous bastions, at an enormous cost. This wall still remains, and forms the real strength of the place. At that time there was no fort at the top of the rock. But afterwards the Doorrañce Sovereign, Zemân Shah, built one; and among other illustrious prisoners the unfortunate Shah Sooja of Cabul was for some time imprisoned there. This fort was kept up by the Sikhs, and has been repaired by the Moha-Raja.

As the traveller proceeds from the city to visit the lake, he passes through a kind of regulating dam, called the "gate of the lake." The object of this is to prevent the floods of the river from causing the waters of the lake to rise inconveniently high. There are two massive sliding wooden doors which move on their hinges. If the river is falling, then the waters of the lake, being higher than the river water, force the gates open and pass on into the river. If the river is at flood then its waters, being the higher, force the gates *in*. The gates being shut thus exclude the water from invading the lake. These precautions are certainly necessary, for an excess of water in the lake is to be dreaded. Its waters have considerably exceeded the limits of former times, to the injury of surrounding gardens and cultivation.

Passing onwards through a maze of swamps and channels the traveller will note the "Floating Gardens." These little gardens really do swim on the surface of the water, and are dragged about from place to place at will. Planks of wood are bound together with grass ropes. Over the raft thus formed a matting of reed stalks may be placed to give consistency. Over this again earth is strewn and sown with melons and vegetables. The vegetable bed thus formed is set to float on the water from which it derives nourishment and moisture. These gardens may be seen floating about for miles on the borders of the lake and on the channels which lead to it. They are frequently carried off by thieves at night, the abstraction of them being easy.

The aquatic vegetation in these waters is rich. There is the Singhara nut, largely consumed by Hindoos, and having a long winding stalk just like a chain. It yields a considerable revenue to the State. There is a plant also with a yellow flower largely given to cows, and said to have a very beneficial effect

on the milk, which in Cashmere is always excellent. There is the "Nilofur Kumuree" or lily of the moon; its flower is white, and opens out at night, closing as soon as the sun begins to shine. There is also the "Nilofur Shumree" or lily of the sun. Its flower is purplish red, and is closed at night, but displays itself to the sunlight. At certain seasons when these lilies are in flower, they enhance the beauty of the lake. The one with its pallid aspect adds to the effect of moonlight on the waters. The other makes the face of the lake blush with a rich bloom during the noonday glare.

The lake itself, which is open on one side towards the city and river and has the flattest possible banks in that direction, is abruptly bounded on two sides by steep hills of moderate height, but of very picturesque appearance, owing to the purple rocks and the intensely green herbage. Along the base of these hills the water's edge was, in the imperial times, lined with summer houses and gardens. Among these, two gardens are pre-eminent, namely the Shaleemar gardens and the Nishât Bagh ("Garden of Pleasance") both built by the Emperors. The Shaleemar gardens were originally adorned by noble plane trees; and by a stream led from the hill, converted by artificial means unto a variety of channels, tanks, cascades and fountains and interspersed by a number of tasteful buildings, among which the best was a summer house resting on black, marble pillars, pedestals, cornices and eaves. But the glories of Shaleemar are departed. The stream no longer runs in the artificial channels. The plane trees are stunted or withered, of the buildings the black marble pillars alone remaining in a decent state. Their sombre, solemn beauty harmonizes with the desolation around. The Moha-Raja is indeed repairing it, but the repairs are out of taste; and Shaleemar which is now a sad ruin, will soon, in all probability, be permanently vulgarized. The Nishât Bagh was in the same style as Shaleemar, and by many persons is supposed to have been superior. It has suffered and is still suffering a similar fate. Its plane trees are however in better preservation; and the sketcher may still find a "subject" here. On an eminence over the lake there are the ruins of the Pūree Muhal or Fairies' abode, built by a priest in the family of the Emperor Akbar - this commands the best view obtainable of the lake. In another corner there is the Nussem Bagh, a noble grove in fair preservation, containing some twelve hundred large plane trees. In the centre of the lake is the famous island of the four plane trees. Here Dewan Kirpa Ram, one of the Sikh Governors of Cashmere, built a summer house, but this has fallen down as the surface of the little island has been submerged by the rising waters of the lake. The device of four plane trees (Chuhâr Chumar) is a favourite one with Mahomedans. A small masonry

platform is constructed for a siesta, and a plane tree is planted at each point of the compass so as to ensure shade to the sitter at all hours of the day. The "Chuhâr Chunar" is to be met with at many places of resort in Cashmere.

In the centre the waters of the lake, unencumbered by flowers or woods, are deep, dark, and tranquil. By day the reflections are intense. At moonlight the scene is beautiful. On dark nights, the Moghul Emperors used to have bonfires lit on the hills in order that they might enjoy the glitter of the reflections on the water. The natives of Srinugger of all classes are fond of rowing about this lake. Hundreds of boats, some respectable, some of humble build, may be seen plying there duly. And on festival days parts of the lake are covered with gala parties of holiday makers, just as at times the lake of Lucerne is frequented by visitors to the chapel of William Tell.

We may here mention the two other lakes of Cashmere, namely the little Manus lake and the great Wullur lake.

From Srinugger you may go by boat down the river (enjoying all the way a beautiful view of the snowy Hurmookh mountain) to the Manus lake, a pretty little sheet of water. On the edge of this there is a ruined imperial garden. On one side there is the little hill of "Aha-Teon," covered with wild apricots, of which the yellow and russet foliage in autumn causes a beautiful reflection on the water. At the foot of this there are limestone quarries which furnish all the lime for building in Cashmere.

From the Manus lake you may proceed by boat to the Wullur lake: this Western quarter, receiving all the drainage of the valley, becomes rather swampy, and there are channels innumerable. The Wullur lake is a vast sheet of water, about 6 miles broad and 12 long. It lies in the North West corner of the valley. On its Eastern side it lies open towards the valley; but on its three other sides it is abruptly bounded by hills, over which there rise the snowy ranges of Hurmookh and Sungobal. These white mountains, towering immediately over the expanse of water, look magnificent. On the Western side there is a hill jutting out into the lake, and surmounted by a Mahomedan shrine named Baba Shookurooddeen. The traveller can easily ascend this hill, from the top of which he will overlook the lake and the valley beyond. This is one of the best views in Cashmere, though by no means equal to the view from the Tukhti-Soleiman near Srinugger. In the middle of this lake also there is an island, adorned by the ruins of a Hindoo temple and a Mahomedan mosque. But its delectability is destroyed by the surface of the ground being mostly submerged by the waters

of the lake. Towards the shores the Singhara nut (already mentioned) is very abundant: its red, orange, and brown leaves on the surface of the water are beautiful. In the centre the water is immensely deep. The wind sweeping down from the mountains constantly occasions a violent agitation of the surface of the water, which then surges with waves like the lake of Garda :—

“*Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens, Bonace, marino.*”

The boatmen always warn the traveller not to venture across after noon-day; as the wind rises towards evening. Once Runjeet Singh and his suite, with some three hundred boats, disregarded their caution. The lake submitted very quietly at first; but having got the Royal Flotilla well into the midst of the waters, began then to display its terrors. The boats were battered to pieces, and the terrified monarch and courtiers narrowly escaped with their lives.

From one corner of this lake there leads the mountain road to Iskardo, and also to the rugged and turbulent region of Gilghit, against which the Moha-Raja is now organizing an expedition. These expeditions, however, occasion a fruitless expenditure of blood and money. Of such regions, the natives say—“if a small force goes what will it do; if a large force goes, what will it eat?”

We shall now say a few words on the Hindoo ruins of Cashmere, which are some of the finest and most interesting of this kind in existence. These ruins you meet with everywhere; on the grand plateau of Martundh, on the summit of the Tukhti-Soleiman, on the banks of the Jhelum-Vidustha, in the groves of Pandrenton, amidst the cedar forests of Baramulla; on the island of the lake, on the edge of the Puttun swamps, among the crowded streets of Srinugger. They are all in the same style and of the same material; and evidently belong to the same æra,—an æra when indeed there must have been a long line of kings reigning over a prosperous people, when there were giants in the valley, that is giants in skill, art and organization. The oldest may be 1700, the latest, 100 years old. The people speak of them as the work of the Pandoos, so largely mentioned in the Mohabharut epic. Few antiquarian tasks could be more interesting than a research into the history of these buildings; and well has this task been performed by James Prinsep, Horace Wilson, and Alexander Cunningham. Their studies have unfolded a history of which the Hindoo race may be proud; and have shewn that *once* the annals of Cashmere were as glorious as its climate was lovely; and that *once* the destiny and exploits of man were worthy of scenes so favoured by nature. In those days Cashmere was for the Cashmerees, before any foreign invader had swept over the country. The valley was thus inhabited by a powerful section of the

Brahmin tribe, and the Moslem had not yet poured in from the West, to overthrow the sacred buildings of Hindooism, and so forcibly convert its people to the faith of Islam. Detailed description of the ruins as they now exist are to be found in books of travel, and especially in the volumes of Vigne and Moorcroft. To the reflective modern traveller the aspect of these remains—the massive grey stones from 5 to 10 feet in length and breadth,—the noble monolith pillars twenty feet high,—the trefoil arches, the elaborate stone carving of images, flowers, birds, fish, and all manner of grotesque device,—the high ornamentation on a bold massive surface,—the noble sites shewing that the architects deeply felt the grandeur of nature—the long colonnades, the imposing gateways,—the leaning or fallen walls, overthrown by the shock of earthquake (no force short of this could bring down such massive structures)—all these features are powerfully impressive, and add greatly to the interest of the scenery of Cashmere.

Each ruin too has some special interest of its own. The Martundh (commonly called Muttun) ruin near Islamabad, is connected with Lulta Dutt, the most splendid of the Hindoo kings of Cashmere; is celebrated as being the most extensive ruin in the valley; and is remarkable for its site, being built at the top of a long narrow plateau jutting out, like an unfinished Giant's Causeway, right into the valley; standing about 300 feet above the average level of the valley, and with a grassy level surface looking like a vast race course. This would be considered by moderns to be the finest and healthiest building site in Cashmere. At Bij-Briara on the Jhelum there was the oldest and loftiest temple in Cashmere, built some 200 years before the Christian Era. This was thrown down some 400 years ago by Sikunder, the Mahomedan Iconoclast, who used its fine materials to build a mosque on the same site. But by the vicissitudes of history a Hindoo monarch, though of a different race, came to rule over Cashmere; and recently the Moha-Rajah Golab Singh threw down the mosque, and again used the same old materials for a new temple. But this degenerate age does not produce the architects of the olden time; and we shall doubtless soon see a pigmy edifice rearing its little head to mock the memory of the great Bij-Briara temple. At Avantipur in the same neighbourhood, the remains of a city extend for miles. Most of these are covered over with accumulations of earth, but in some spots the real character of the architecture has been shown by excavations made under the direction of Alexander Cunningham. This city is called after its founder, Avanta Dutt, who lived some centuries after Christ, and whose name is revered for justice in Cashmere just as the name of Nowshirwan is in

Persia. The ruins of Pandrenton, close to Srinugger and near the foot of the Tukhti-Soleiman, attest the site of a great city. Among these, there was visible a short time ago a statue (female figure) some twenty feet high. Most of the limbs have however been now carried away by depredators. Here too is the graceful temple in the midst of a tank, and dedicated to the water goddess.

We have by no means exhausted the list of excursions within the valley itself to tempt the tourist. Near Islamabad at the Eastern end of the valley there are (besides the great ruin above mentioned) the sacred tanks of Martundh and Anauthnâg, and the Aclubul gardens. The last named gardens are in utter ruin. They are threatened with vulgar repairs; which is to be regretted, as even their desolation is beautiful. There is a fine spring which comes bubbling up tumultuously from the foot of a Hill crowned with cedars. The gardens, now no more, were constructed under order of the Emperor Shah Jehan. In the same neighbourhood there is the fountain of Vernag. This was formed into a large pool, with arches built all round, by the Emperor Jehangier. The water is extremely deep, and has the most intense colour we ever witnessed, something between emerald and azure. Still it takes the reflections of the foliage all around, which in autumn has such varied tints. The brilliant reflections upon a deep blue ground are indeed lovely. There is a Persian inscription expressing the admiration which the Mahomedans feel for this fountain. Close to the fountain there is an orchard, where Sir Henry Lawrence once pitched his tent for some time; also General Nicholson in 1856 was encamped there for six weeks. The fountain of Vernag is the principal source of the Vidustha-Jhelum river. The Vidustha is often called the Bihut in Cashmere, and we need not remind the classical reader that it is the old Hydaspes.

From Srinugger the traveller may in two days' journey visit the "Gool-murg" or "Flowery Mead." In the early part of May as the snow thaws off, it leaves the broad plateau a mass of red and purple flowers. The effect is wonderful. The flowers soon disappear: but the meadow is still a glorious pasture land situated high up in the Hills amidst fir forests and snowy summits. In summer its climate is delightful.

We must now say a few words on the natural productions of Cashmere.

The great staple of the valley is rice. This cultivation is carried on throughout all the lowlands, that is, all the land except the Khurewa plateaux. It receives much natural moisture and also much artificial irrigation. Its quality is good, but generally not first rate. The beautiful rice of Peshawar, of the

Kangra valley, of the Hoshiarpour swamp, is certainly to be met with in Cashmere, but not in large quantities. The crop can almost always be depended on; but sometimes a famine does occur, as when about 25 years ago, in one autumn night, a deadly blast came and smote the rice harvest. A native told us, that in the evening the people retired to rest with a fine harvest waving round them, and in the morning awoke to see that harvest withered. Wheat and barley are produced, but of second rate quality. Cotton is grown, so is linseed. Indian corn and maize are grown not in the valley but on the surrounding Hill sides. Sugar cane and Indigo you do not see; attempts have been made to introduce them both without success. Saffron of excellent quality is produced, but almost exclusively on one plateau. Vegetables of sorts are raised, but not as yet European vegetables; not even the ubiquitous potato. The fruits—cherries, apricots, peaches, mulberries, apples, pears—exactly resemble those of our island. But the English fruits are superior in flavour and richness. The vine grows wild everywhere; but the grapes of Cashmere never equal those of Cabul. Wild raspberries and blackberries are met with; but no strawberries worthy of the name according to our English ideas. The flowers, chiefly wild, are much the same as those at home. A list of these would comprise most of those flowers in which country folk delight at home, such as Polyanthus, Forget-me-not, Auricula, Foxglove, wild Geranium, Columbine, and many others, together with the humbler Buttercup and Primrose. But the Daisy is, we are told, not to be met with! The Lilies we have already mentioned. The country air is in summer scented with wild roses, hawthorn and Jasmine. The arboriculture of the valley is not very remarkable. The poplar is of rapid growth. The noble plane tree is so abundant as to be a weed. But it suffers greatly from mischief done to the topmost sprouts by a kind of Heron. This Heron is, however, tolerated on account of the beautiful black feathers which adorn its head, and which form the waving crest in which Punjabee warriors and chiefs so much delight. The cedars which grow on the Hill sides close to the valley, and which furnish most of the timber for building, are poor specimens of the tribe, and would bear no comparison with the giants of the forests of Pangee or Bussahir.

On the whole the productions of Cashmere, though of course rich, are not highly developed, if the advantages of climate are considered. The agriculture is very ordinary, much the same as that which obtains in India, and there is much cultivable waste. Its agricultural resources might be developed by a moderate amount of labour and drainage.

There is no such a thing as a wheeled vehicle in Cashmere, nor any large beast of burden such as a camel. But this want is not felt where there is such an abundance of water carriage and such numbers of ponies and mules. But if the traveller should have heard great accounts of the Cashmere ponies, he will be disappointed by the reality. These little animals have narrow chests, foreheads, backs and loins. Their build is slim and their legs thin. They are weedy, though active and hardy. The best ponies come from Ladakh and Yarkund. The plan would be to cross the breeds, and this we understand the Moha-Rajah intends to do. The cows and oxen are small. There are no buffaloes. The sheep are small; and the mutton something remarkably different from Southdown. Beef is forbidden food, the ruler being a Hindoo. Fish cannot be caught just now, the Court being still in mourning for the late Moha-Rajah. At all the sacred tanks great sanctity is attached to the shoals of little fishes. The goat of the valley is a very ordinary creature. The goat, which gives the hair for the shawls, lives up above among the snows.

There is little or nothing *in the valley* for the sportsman to shoot. The sport is all in the neighbouring mountains—deer, bears, &c. The journal of a sportsman round Cashmere, would have great general interest; but it would carry the reader out of the valley into the wilder regions of the Himalayas.

The climate of Cashmere is warmer than that of England in summer, though probably colder in winter. There is no regular rainy season as in India. Rain and cloud are frequent and uncertain as in England. The snow falls in November and thaws in April all over the valley. The lakes and river are frozen and covered with wild ducks. The bear finds it too hard living up above, and condescends to the plain. Sometimes the sun is not visible for weeks. The natives keep themselves warm in rooms heated with hot water, or carry about with them little cases filled with live charcoal. They wear thick coverings of grass, like greaves, to protect their legs and feet from the snow. From the great humidity of the climate, one might suppose that fever would be prevalent. But such is not the case; perhaps owing to the altitude, the valley being 6000 feet above the sea. Whatever the cause, there is little or no fever in Cashmere. Dysentery is not unfrequent. Small-pox is prevalent. In the cities the various diseases arising from vice and filth are too painful to record. For a European invalid the climate of the valley in summer is not bracing, and though highly beneficial, is not equal to that of the Himalayan Hill stations. But the scenery and associations are most exhilarating, and the climate of the Hills on the march to and from Cashmere and of any of the



Hills round the valley, is the finest possible. The highest and healthiest part of the valley is the Eastern end round Islamabad and Vernag.

The population of the valley (though never numbered by census) may amount to about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions of souls. Emigration used formerly to take place to a considerable extent; and at the great famine, which we have already mentioned, there was a considerable exodus. Emigration is not now, however, permitted. Still it is believed that the population does not increase. The aborigines of Cashmere were doubtless a Brahmin colony. That is what the people themselves say. Most of them were converted to the faith of Islam after the Mahomedan conquest. But there has also been a large admixture of pure Mahomedan tribes, such as the Mulliks, Meers, Sofees, Sheikhs, Rêshees. The tribes we have named form an important section of the agricultural community. The *Rêshees* are distinct from the *Rishees*. The latter are Mahomedan Saints, though their name is of Hindoo origin. The former are sturdy peasants. The two important tribes of But and Rehna, were originally Brahmin though now Mahomedans. The Buts indeed are the chief agricultural tribe in the valley, just as the Jats are in Hindostan. It may be said that the whole population of the valley, shawl-weavers, artificers, husbandmen and all, are Mahomedans, with the exception of the Cashmeeree Pundits. These Pundits, though comparatively few in numbers, are strong in influence and station, and form the aristocracy of the valley. They originally constituted the educated class, and were the only set of men fit for business. Consequently they were largely employed by the Mahomedan conquerors. It was probably this circumstance that procured their exemption from the necessity of embracing Islamism. Certainly they have all preserved their Hindooism to the present day. The highest administrative posts are not often bestowed on them. Of the four Civil Districts into which Cashmere is divided, one only is held by a Cashmeeree Pundit. But the best posts in the Customs and Excise, and the Ministerial offices in all departments, are held by them. The Pundits too have largely emigrated. There are many families of them at Lucknow and Delhi. At Lahore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Runjeet Singh, Deena Nath, was a Cashmeeree Pundit from Lucknow. His family are still very influential, and hold many excellent appointments under the British Government. They do not amalgamate with the Brahmins of India, and the necessities of the Cashmere climate have made them relax in respect to food and other matters the strictness of Brahminical observance. There is in Cashmere generally less of bigotry, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, than in

other countries of Asia. The Mahomedans, retaining some old Hindoo associations, are less fanatical. Most of them belong to the Sheeah sect. But the sectarian zeal through which the Sheeahs in India are so troublesome at the season of the Mohurram festival, does not rage in Cashmere. Once under the Sikh rule, there was however a serious disturbance between the Sheeahs and Soonnees of Srinugger; since which time the Mohurram has not been kept with any great solemnity. Cashmere has at different times been visited a good deal by holy men from Arabia and Persia. The tombs of Mahomedan Saints are to be met with all over the valley, and these shrines are very picturesque objects. Most of the ministering Brahmins at the Hindoo sacred places are men from India. There is a constant ebb and flow of the tide of Hindoo pilgrims who resort to various places in Cashmere, especially to Amernath, a spot situated in a remote valley towards the Eastern extremity of Cashmere. Amernath is indeed one of the most interesting of all the places of Hindoo pilgrimage. The hardships of the route must greatly enhance the merit of the expedition: for the delicate nature of the burning South has to march through the snows of the North. At Martundh near Islamabad, Runjeet Singh established several Sikh priests to read the Grunth; and those men remain there to this day.

Whatever education there is in Cashmere (and it is not widely spread) is Mahomedan. Hindoo learning does not flourish. The language of the upper class, and of official life, is Persian. The Pundits, though good Persian scholars, seldom know Sanscrit. The Cashmeeree dialect, which is based on the Hindee, is written in the Persian character. The Sikh rulers taught the upper classes to speak Punjabee, and as the present Government is half Punjabee, that dialect is still generally understood. The Oordoo language has not much currency, except with those individuals who may be connected with the British authorities, and with the merchants whose servants and agents have travelled in India.

The character of the Cashmeeree people does not seem generally to make a favourable impression on the European travellers who have had the means of studying it. In general terms we believe that the Cashmeerees may be characterised as mild, inoffensive and industrious, with those defects which usually pertain to the weak who have been for many centuries held down by the strong. If deceit, chicanery, and litigiousness are to be met with amongst them, we must, before judging them severely, remember what their condition has been for many generations. They are cunning artificers and diligent husbandmen. They have strong family affections. Their

women are better and more faithful than the women of the Punjab. They understand how to associate themselves together in corporations, and the system of village communities exists as strongly in Cashmere as in India. They are not generally violent or fanatical. They are orderly; not much addicted to crime either against life or property. But if exasperated they are capable of desperate acts. The town folk are a sleek, thin race, with delicate nervous organization. The country folk are as sturdy muscular fellows as you would see anywhere. Though they love their native valley they do not appreciate its scenery, and seldom know even the names of the surrounding mountains. They seem to have no taste for military service, and have never been enlisted as soldiers either by the Sikhs or by the present Government. On the whole it may be said that the Cashmeerees embosomed in the Himalayas are a population *sui generis*, very different from the fierce and fanatical tribes on their Western border, from the Thibetan races of Ladakh on the North, from the Rajpoot mountaineers on the South and East.

As is well known, Cashmere was, after the Sutlej Campaign of 1846, made over by the Lahore Government under the auspices of the British authorities to Golab Singh, King of Jummoo. Golab Singh had, in addition to his hereditary principality of Jummoo, acquired Kishtwar to the East and Ladakh to the North of Cashmere; while the Poonch and Chubal country to the South was held by members of his family. Thus he was *de facto* possessor of the country round Cashmere when that valley was made over to him. He died in 1857, and was succeeded by his son Rumber Singh, the present Moha-Raja. He holds the valley with about 10,000 troops, regular and irregular. The men are chiefly hill Rajpoots, with a sprinkling of Mahomedans from the regions near the Indus, of Punjabees, and of Goorkhas. There is nothing to remark in their discipline and equipment. In the civil administration, the police would seem to be effective, so far as the suppression of crime goes. Fine is largely resorted to as a punishment, and so is imprisonment. Prisoners may be seen grinding rice on the borders of the Srinaggar lake. There may be some attempt at judicial system, but it is quite undeveloped. The Revenue amounts to about forty lakhs of Rupees, or £400,000 per annum; of which 25 lakhs are from Land Tax, and the rest from Customs and Excise. The heavy land tax is collected in kind, and consequently the Government has to receive and dispose of vast quantities of grain. The organization of the village communities is kept up; head men of villages, and of circles of villages are appointed (they are called *Mugaddums* and *Chowdrees*;) just as they used to be

under the Mogul Emperors. Village accountants are also to be found all over the valley.

We have touched but very lightly on the social and political condition of Cashmere. The subject is an extensive and in some respects a delicate one. It could not be done full justice to in an Article like the present.

We shall not conclude without briefly adverting to the Geographical work which has been for some time past going on in Cashmere. For the past four years a highly trained party under Capt. Montgomerie of the Bengal Engineers, within the control of the Surveyor General, has been engaged in a Trigonometrical Survey of Cashmere and the surrounding regions. The work of this series will ultimately be incorporated with that of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India. This work is now nearly concluded for Cashmere; the altitude of the principal peaks, the direction of the ranges, the principal towns, and such like points have been fixed with the utmost scientific precision. And the varied details of the valley itself have been marked in with perfect topographical delineation. Soon therefore Government and the public will be in possession of the best possible map of Cashmere. Capt. Montgomerie and his assistants have indeed rendered services by which the community at large will greatly benefit. They have undergone, in addition to mental labour, much physical toil and hardship; they have borne every vicissitude of climate and the extremes of heat and cold. During the crisis of 1857, they were a small band of Englishmen, in the heart of the Himalayan mountains, separated from one another, and divided by a long and rugged tract from their fellow-countrymen who were carrying on such a struggle in Northern India. Their position therefore was isolated and trying; and peculiar even among the accidents of that terrible time. But the Cashmere Survey was never suspended for a moment, its progress was as good as ever. Captain Montgomerie and his Assistants shewed a good example of how Englishmen can preserve a calm attitude in the midst of trouble and alarm, and adhere to duty and work in the midst of distractions. And it is but due to Captain Montgomerie to say that to high scientific attainments he adds temper, discretion and great aptitude in dealing with natives of all classes.

And now to conclude. If we shall have at all succeeded in imparting to those who have not visited Cashmere an idea of the valley, as it appears in the present day; or in reviving the recollections of those who have visited that matchless scene; our object will have been more than accomplished. We have heard natives of Cashmere say that the British resemble the Moguls in their fondness for scenery as well as in other things.

The memory of the Great Moguls is associated in the minds of the people with the idea of Empire. They are, *par excellence*, the Emperors of the Past. But since British influence has been extended over Northern India, it has been commonly remarked by the people that another Imperial race has arisen to dominate in Asia. And in truth the Anglo-Indian Statesman of the Present does resemble the Great Mogul of the Past, in his comprehensive policy, his systematic organization, his power of controlling diverse races, his efforts for material improvement. But the two resemble each other in a lesser, though a strongly marked, idiosyncrasy; in that they are both Lovers of Nature. Both the Englishman and the Mogul came to India from a colder climate. The Mogul panted for green pastures and running brooks; for an atmosphere that admitted of outdoor exercise; for wilder regions where he could ride and walk and hunt. And so does the Englishman. Whenever time or opportunity permitted they both betook themselves to the Himalayas for refreshment after labour in the plains of India. The Englishman raises up stations and settlements at twenty different places on the southern side of the Himalayas. The Mogul enriched and beautified Cashmere (already so rich and beautiful) with gardens, summer houses and palaces. In many climes and places such as Granada, Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, the skill and genius of the Mahomedans bequeathed to the admiration of posterity, specimens of noble architecture in the midst of interesting scenery. In Cashmere, the Mogul works equalled, in beauty and interest, the fairest structures ever raised by Mahomedan hands. Among the Moguls the Emperor Jehangere is to this day remembered for the affection with which he regarded the valley of Cashmere. He used to sit and watch the Srinugger Lake: he would mark the surface of the water as it reddened with the purple splendor of the lotus in sunshine, or as it was adorned with the chaster beauty of the lily by moonlight; he would observe in the water the reflections of the changeful sky, and of the mountains with their alternations of gloom and glory; and in the darkness of night he would see the hill sides lit up with bonfires, reflected a hundred times over on the glittering face of the Lake. Again he would gaze into the deep blue depths of the Vernag fountain, and wonder whether it issued from the Elysium which the Prophet had promised to Believers. When afterwards he was stricken with palsy he desired to be carried to Vernag as the most charming spot in all his dominions. Laboriously the dying Emperor travelled from the Punjab up the Peer Pajal route. But as we have already seen, he never reached Cashmere again, and expired at Behramgulla near the foot of the

great range. Throughout his life-time he would use the often repeated saying, that if there be a Paradise on earth, it is this queen of valleys. Little then did he think that this verdict would be confirmed in after ages by many an English Officer, who should resort to Cashmere to brace his frame by the breezes of the North, and to refresh his mind by communion with nature. But while doing this, the reflective Christian traveller will have thoughts which it never entered into the heart of a Mogul to conceive. He will inwardly pray that the bounteous Providence which has vouchsafed so many choice gifts to Cashmere, may one day bless its people not only with material progress, but also with moral advancement and with the enlightenment of the Truth.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Organization of the Indian Army, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* 1859.
2. *Report of Major General Hancock.* 1859.
3. *Papers connected with the Reorganization of the Army in India, Supplementary to the Report of the Army Commission.* 1859.
4. *Copies of Correspondence between the late Court of Directors, the President of the late Board of Control, and the present Secretary of State for India, respecting the ARTILLERY FORCES in India from the commencement of the late Mutiny to the present date. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 12th April, 1859.*

AMONGST the numerous and grave topics demanding early and careful consideration in connection with the more efficient and economical management and control of the vast Indian Empire which has been entrusted by Providence to the government of Great Britain, there are none which in importance and urgency are equal to the vital question as to the speediest and most effective mode of reorganizing the Anglo-Indian Army, a question upon the prompt, practical and judicious solution of which hinges the very existence of that Empire.

In July last year, when the project of transferring the direct Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown, was still under discussion, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the existing condition of the Indian Army and the changes it might be expedient to make therein. In March of the present year this Commission submitted its report, which has now been several months before the public. As yet, however, with the exception of two sterile debates in the House of Commons and the passing of a bill to increase the limit of the European force in India from twenty to thirty thousand men, no steps have, apparently, been taken in this most important matter: the result is that in the interim all is confusion, anxiety, doubt and fruitless expenditure throughout the Empire.

Until some definite measure is decided upon and some arrangement made for the efficient military control of the country, the large European force at present employed must necessarily be retained in India, whilst on the other hand, the immense Native force, far exceeding in numerical strength and cost the whole Native Army of India prior to the mutiny of 1857, without being at least more trustworthy, — a force, the bulk of which was merely created as a mere temporary measure, and viewed at

the time as a serious though necessary evil, is still maintained pending the settlement of the general question of reorganization, and that at an expense so enormous as to be literally ruinous to the finances of the empire.

Every day's delay in this matter is prejudicial to the influence and *prestige* of the British Government in India, and adds to the financial embarrassment, an evil already difficult to deal with; whilst it also tends to excite anxieties and fears with reference to their future fate and prospects, in the minds of all members, European as well as native, in the existing Services. It is therefore imperative that the subject should be promptly and earnestly taken up and fairly grappled with, in order that some sound leading principles should be laid down, and some system adopted which may be at the same time practical and suitable to the existing circumstances and to the employment of all efficient and trustworthy material now available; a system which, whilst inaugurating a thorough and unparing reform when such is unquestionably requisite, shall introduce no unnecessary changes to meet mere theoretical plans or experimental crotchets; which shall, moreover, initiate even needful changes with all due precaution and consideration; and which, whilst aiming, as the first consideration, to secure the best interests of the State, shall not be unmindful of the rights and privileges of those who have already, for more than a century, done that State such good service. The broad principles upon which such a system of organization must be based should be clearly defined by the home authorities, under whose orders, arrangements might be commenced at once for the organization in England of the European force required, leaving to the local Government of India to fill in the outline and carry out the necessary details, in regard to the native force and the requisite local establishments.

The printed report of the Commission on the Organization of the Indian Army is somewhat meagre, and on several of the most important points is undecided, great difference of opinion existing not only in the evidence elicited but amongst the Commissioners themselves: nevertheless the report as published contains—amongst some worthless and objectionable matter—a mass of valuable record, more especially in the appendix and supplement. Twelve questions were put before the Commissioners for opinion and report, and these formed the basis of their enquiries. The first question was “the terms on which the Army of the East India Company was to be transferred to the Crown?” This question had however in the meantime been practically disposed of by the Act of 21 and 22 Victoria, Cap. 106 of the 2nd August 1858, for the transfer of the Government



of India from the East India Company to the Crown; the 56th Clause of which Act distinctly and fully guarantees to the then existing members of the Army of the East India Company, on its transfer to the Crown, "*the like pay, pensions, allowances and privileges, and like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company.*" This pledge is most important, and must be carefully borne in mind in the consideration of any plan for the future organization of the Indian Army. The 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th questions all bear on the chief point for consideration, in its twofold aspect of the permanent force required for India, and its composition, more especially with reference to the relative proportions of Europeans to Natives in the several arms. As regards the numerical strength of the force to be permanently maintained, the Commissioners experience some difficulty in fixing a definite amount, and they quote the conflicting opinions given in evidence upon this point. They consider however that when peace and order are perfectly restored, railway and river communications available, and defensive posts erected throughout the country, a European force in round numbers of about 80,000 men might be sufficient, which, with the proposed proportions of 2 Natives to 1 European in the Bengal, and 3 to 1 in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, would give a Native force of about 1,90,000. They earnestly recommend however that the Artillery arm should be mainly a European force, a few exceptional Native Batteries being maintained for particular duties and for stations unsuited to the location of Europeans.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 12th questions all have reference more or less direct to a much contested point,—the evidence elicited regarding which is of the most widely divergent character, and not unfrequently representing the most extreme views;—that point being whether the European portion of the Indian Army should be exclusively a Line or a Local force, or composed, as heretofore, of a mixture of the two;—the best means of recruiting for such a force, or of relieving Line Regiments;—as also whether consolidation of the two forces and exchange from one to the other would be practicable with the perfect justice to the claims of all Officers in the service of the East India Company.

On this subject the Commissioners were unable to offer any opinion as a body, divided as they were into two parties entertaining diametrically opposite views. One party, forming the majority—and understood to be composed of the six Officers of the Royal Army on the Commission,—being strongly in favor of a single arm of force, and that, of course, to be the Line Army, making India its regular seat of duty; whilst the minority

ity, consisting of the Secretary of State for India and the four Indian Officers on the Commission, hold equally strong opinions in favour of a very considerable Local force, specially intended for service in India. Both parties support their views by arguments and reasons given in detail. Both carry their opinions to a somewhat ultra limit, so much so as to leave on more unbiassed minds a conviction that the wisest and safest course is probably to be found between the two extremes.

Independent of the report and opinions of the Commissioners themselves, whose previous training, habits and natural bias were calculated to render unanimity of opinion doubtful, and in some measure to disqualify them for the duties of impartial judges, more especially when three of the members, viz. the Secretaries of State for War and for India, as also the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, were, to a certain extent, personally interested in the decision,—the position and patronage of their several appointments being materially affected by it,—there remains in the minutes of evidence and, as already stated, more especially in the appendix and supplement, a mass of valuable information bearing on the various phases of the whole question, sufficient in itself to afford ample material for the formation of a sound and practical opinion on the leading features of this important question. Amongst the most valuable of the various documents referred to, may be specially quoted the minute by the present Governor General of India and those of the Governors and Commanders-in-Chief of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies; the evidence verbal and recorded of Lord Ellenborough;—the minute of Major General Mansfield, the Chief of the Staff in India, which may be inferred to represent the views of the Commander-in-Chief;—the minute of the Military Secretary to Government; that of the Punjab Commission, consisting of Sir John Lawrence, Brigadier Chamberlayne and Colonel Edwards; those of Sir Bartle Freer, Major General Sydney Cotton, and of Colonels Mayhew and Greene, the Adjutants General of the Bengal and Bombay Armies, and of Sir R. Vivian and Major General Tucker formerly Adjutants General at Madras and Bengal;—the reports and evidence of Colonel Durand, who was specially appointed to collect and lay before the Commission information on this subject; the minute of Colonel Holland; the written evidence and opinions of the Commissioners themselves, more especially the minutes of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge and Colonel W. Burton, and the separate report of Major General Hancock.

These have all gone into the question in more or less detail and all bring a certain amount of special or practical knowledge and experience to bear upon it. Taking this valuable

evidence and information; sifting it with all practicable impartiality; adopting without hesitation such plans as are unanimously supported; giving due weight to the opinions, even though they may be singular, of those qualified to speak on particular or local topics, or with personal and practical experience; making due allowance for the influence of professional bias and interests; striking as it were on average, not only between numerical discrepancies, but extreme views; and keeping the main object—an economical and efficient force—steadily in view, without losing sight of the rights and privileges of all concerned; it would apparently not be a very difficult matter to arrive at a definite conclusion on the leading points of this great and important question; the main features of which once fairly established, the adjustment of all minor details would be of comparatively little difficulty.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to discuss the question in its several bearings, taken seriatim, in the spirit above advocated; at the same time offering, with all deference, such personal opinions as some considerable local experience and a long and careful consideration of the subject may, it is hoped, be found to justify.

The first and most important portion of the question, and one that should be considered on its own merits, independent of local or special interests, is *the amount of the Force to be permanently maintained in India, and its composition as regards the several arms and the proportions of Europeans to natives.*

Some considerable time must elapse before the details of any scheme for the reorganization of the Army can be fairly and practically brought into operation, and in that interim certain changes may be expected to have taken place in the present condition of India. In the first place it may be inferred that the main lines of railway connecting the several Presidencies will be, if not completed, at least well advanced; that the means of steam communication on the Ganges, the Indus and a few of their chief tributaries will have been extended and improved; that the country generally will have been disarmed, and that an efficient, well disciplined (*but not a military*) Police force, under European control, will be organized throughout the Empire; when these measures have all been carried out, a comparatively small but compact force ought to suffice for the wants of India, providing that force is properly constituted and perfectly efficient as regards discipline, equipment and the means of transport.

In the present condition of the Indian finances economy is an essential consideration; but the line should be carefully drawn between real and false economy. With a weak, inefficient

ill constituted Army there can be no permanent and general feeling of security, and without such security commercial confidence, enterprise, and national prosperity are impracticable. Not a man should be maintained in the Indian Army who is not really required, but every man on the rolls should be as efficient as careful training and liberal equipment can render the soldier.

Assuming that the Police force is available for the performance of all duties connected with the support of the revenue and judicial departments, and fully equal to cope with any amount of disarmed rabble; the duties of the regular force would be more limited than was the case prior to the mutiny of 1857, whilst the increased facilities of movement would render a smaller force more generally available.

Restricted as it would then be to purely military duties, it becomes desirable for moral effect, for training and real efficiency, that the force should, for the most part, be kept together in considerable bodies of all arms formed into Brigades or moveable columns, constantly exercised and always ready for service. In all such Brigades there should not only be a proportion of Europeans, but they should, as a general rule, form the mainstay or basis of the Brigade, the native troops acting as auxiliaries.

For the greater portion of these Brigades the most convenient, safe and handy composition would be three Regiments or Battalions of Infantry, of which one to be European, a Battery of Field Artillery, European of course, and, where Cavalry was requisite or the ground suitable for the employment of that arm, a body of three Squadrons, of which one to be European, the native portion being Irregular Cavalry.

These Brigades to be judiciously disposed over the country in reticulated communication with each other, occupying the most important political or strategical positions, commanding the main communications, overawing any large towns with populations of disaffected or troublesome character, and protecting the great commercial cities of the empire.

At each Brigade station there should invariably be a fortified post, capable of being defended by a small garrison, for the protection of the Brigade stores, and expense magazine, the families of the European officers and men, and other impedimenta, whilst the Brigade might be in the field. With this object in view, each Brigade should have a Battery of Garrison Artillery attached, the whole or a portion of which, together with two Companies of the European Regiment, would suffice for the garrison of this post. To meet this demand, the European Regiment should each consist of ten Companies, allowing two for Garrison and eight for Brigade; but the latter number of Com-

panies would be amply sufficient and most convenient for all the Native Regiments.

In some localities—more especially in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies where circumstances and the character and physical qualities of the people render the maintenance of a large proportion of Europeans less absolutely needful,—the Brigades, on economical considerations, might be reduced to a wing instead of a whole Regiment of European Infantry, or rather to six companies, allowing two for Garrison. Demi Brigades of Infantry, with a full complement of Cavalry, would form convenient and efficient moveable columns, but these also should have their fortified post and garrison.

Each group of about four Brigades might form a Division, and in each Division there should be a Fort with a stronger garrison of a European Regiment and a Battery or two of Artillery. These fortresses to contain the arsenal and stores of the Division and the treasury and civil records of the province, as also to afford a place of refuge in case of emergency to the European population of the district.

It would also be desirable in a few of the most important Divisions, that the Head Quarter Brigade should contain a larger European element, the ordinary proportion being reversed, and thus such Brigades to consist of two Europeans to one Native. The Artillery and Cavalry of these Brigades to be likewise increased in certain cases, and the European element to be also proportionally extended to the latter arm when requisite. At the most important points of all, there ought to be at least three Brigades exclusively composed of Europeans, or with only a single Native Regiment added to relieve the Europeans from the more exposed and unhealthy duties, during the hot season. Of these Brigades, which might be looked upon as the bases or nuclei of the European force, two would be requisite for the natural bases of operations at the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, that is to say at Kurrachee and near Calcutta; whilst a third, forming with these a grand triangle, might be most advantageously stationed in the Himalaya; where likewise two or three additional Brigades, composed of Europeans and Goorkhas, should also be stationed as reserves, located along the line from Almora to Rawul Pindee, where these troops would be kept in a healthy and efficient condition, ready for employment whenever or wherever their services might be called for. In 1857 when the mutiny broke out, the European Brigade quartered in the hills about Simla, was the only force ready for immediate action, and formed the nucleus of the small but gallant Army that laid siege to Delhi and saved India. This is

lesson that assuredly ought not to be forgotten, but rather to be improved upon.

A reference to the map of India will shew that, occupying only the most important positions, there would be an absolute necessity for at least 48 Brigade Stations, exclusive of the Reserves in the Hills; and on this fact the calculation for the minimum force to be employed may be based. 48 Brigades of the proposed composition would give an average of 48 European Regiments and 96 Native Battalions of Infantry.

But making allowance for one-third of these Brigades or Columns having only Wings instead of whole Regiments of Europeans, and calculating on an addition of at least a dozen Native Battalions to compensate in some measure for this deficiency of Europeans, there would then be required 40 European and 108 Native Regiments. The Hill Reserves would add 6 of the former; 12 of each would be required for Grand or Divisional Garrisons and for the defence or control of large cities adjoining them, and 6 European Regiments for increasing the strength of the most important Brigades; this would give a total of 64 European Regiments and 128 Native Battalions as the minimum force of Infantry absolutely necessary.

The requisite strength of Regiments or Battalions is another important consideration. The evidence taken before the Commission was generally opposed to large Regiments, which were considered unnecessarily expensive, as they certainly are unwieldy; and it was stated by more than one witness that the moral effect of a Regiment of seven or eight hundred men was nearly, if not quite, as great as that of one a thousand strong or more; Natives always computing force by Regiments or *Pultuns*, not by the hundred or thousand bayonets.

Undoubtedly there is great truth in this; but on the other hand it is very necessary to guard against falling into the opposite extreme of excessively weak Regiments in a climate like that of India, where any epidemic, or a sickly season, might reduce such a Regiment to a mere skeleton in a few weeks or even days. Probably a minimum strength per company of 90 of all ranks, exclusive of Officers, would afford a safe, convenient and economical establishment, giving a total of 900 bayonets for each European and 720 for each Native Battalion. This strength, even allowing for sick and detached duty, would give handy Battalions for Brigade, without being too weak, provided that the established complement was fully and fairly kept up.

But in addition to the Native Battalions in Brigade, a considerable body of men would be requisite for the maintenance of numerous positions, which, though not requiring the strength of a Brigade, could not be safely left without some trustworthy troops.

There are also many positions, on the frontiers especially, which require to be held in some force, but at which the climate renders the permanent employment of Europeans impracticable. For these duties a body of Irregular Infantry would be the most suitable, nearly similar in composition to the original Punjab Irregular force. As these troops would have to take many of the duties formerly performed by Contingents and Local Corps,—with which those still in existence might be incorporated,—their number could not be assumed at less than one-third of the regular Native Regiments, or in even numbers at 40, which would raise the total number of Native Regiments to 160. This would give an Infantry force for all India of

64 European Regiments 900 strong,	=	57,600
120 Regular Native Regiments 720 strong,	=	86,400
40 Irregular Native Regiments 720 strong,	=	28,800
being a total Infantry force of	=	172,800

and a proportion of exactly one European to two Natives.

Of Cavalry the events of the two past years have shewn the necessity for a large permanent increase upon the old establishment, more especially as regards the European portion of that arm.

The proportion of Europeans to Natives might advantageously be the same as that of the Infantry, or as one to two, but the whole Native portion should be Irregular, a fact upon which the evidence given before the Commission was nearly unanimous.

No Brigade, in which the nature of the surrounding country was not opposed to the employment of Cavalry, should be without a portion of this arm, except under particular circumstances, or when in the neighbourhood of a special Cavalry Brigade; and the ordinary establishment might most conveniently correspond with that of the Infantry, and consist, as already suggested, of three Squadrons, of which one to be European.

At particular Stations of greater importance, where there was likely to be a demand for Cavalry, this establishment might be doubled or the European portion increased from one-third to one-half.

But in addition to these details of Cavalry forming portions of the Line Brigade, it would be absolutely necessary to have at least a small portion of reserve Cavalry assembled in separate Cavalry Brigades, and so located as that by the aid of the railroad, one or more should be rendered speedily available to join any division of the Army. By a careful selection of the localities, four such detached Brigades might suffice; their strength consisting of two Regiments, or 4 Squadrons of European and 4 of Native Cavalry, with a due proportion of Horse Artillery. On these



data, the minimum strength of European Cavalry required would be 64 Squadrons, whilst the proposed double proportion of 128 Native Squadrons, would leave a sufficient body available for duty with the Irregular or Local Infantry in localities where such Cavalry was absolutely requisite. This arm must of necessity be much broken up and dispersed, whatever might be the established strength of Regiments: and therefore it would be as well to adopt the more economical complement of eight troops, which would admit of convenient distribution by Wings or Squadrons; and the strength of all Squadrons might be fixed at 150 sabres each. This would give

16 Regiments of European Cavalry at 600 =	9,600
32 Regiments of Native Irregular Do. =	19,200

or a total of Sabres, ... 28,800

Being in the exact proportion of six Infantry to one Cavalry.

The Artillery for India must necessarily be on liberal scale, as, in the first place, it is the arm for which all orientals entertain the greatest respect, and, in the second, it is the one which European science and the extent and efficiency of the British manufacturing establishments enable us to maintain in a higher state of efficiency, as compared with that of our opponents, than any other branch. All the opinions given before the Commission coincide as to the demand for a large force of Artillery, though they differ somewhat as to the details of that force.

The opinions are nearly as unanimous in regard to the necessity for this force being, as a general rule, a European one.

As however this is an expensive arm, it is requisite that whilst maintained in sufficient force and in the most efficient condition, the establishment should not be larger than is absolutely necessary for the duties to be performed, or in relation to the rest of the force, allowing for an adequate reserve.

Assuming that we have a total of 50 Line and separate Cavalry Brigades, each of these would require a Battery of Horse or Field Artillery; one would also be requisite for each large Garrison, which may be taken at 14 in number, and for each Division there should be also one Battery as the Division Reserve; allowing a similar number or 12 for the general reserve, we have a total of 38 Batteries, Horse or Field, required for India, a complement that cannot be deemed excessive as, including reserves, it does not quite afford a proportion of one Battery to every three Regiments of Infantry and Cavalry, and only a fraction more than two and a half pieces of ordnance to every thousand men of these arms. Each Line Brigade would moreover require an average of a Battery of Siege or Garrison Artillery, and an



a further proportion of one third, or 16 additional batteries, for the most important garrisons and reserves, this would give a total of 84 Siege or Garrison Batteries.

The able minute of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge on this subject, contains a recommendation for a force not very dissimilar in strength to the one here proposed, consisting of 164 Batteries of Horse, Field and Garrison Artillery, instead of 152 as suggested above; being a difference of only 12 Batteries. But His Royal Highness allows a more liberal complement of Field Artillery, viz., 28 Horse Artillery and 104 Field Batteries; this force, we venture with all deference to think is not absolutely necessary; whilst on the other hand his proposed complement of only 32 Garrison Batteries for all India is undoubtedly insufficient.

His proposition to organize the local force as one Regiment, on the same principle as the Royal Artillery, with the like number of Batteries to a Brigade and the same complement and proportions of officers, is undoubtedly what should be adopted; the proposed establishment of men for Batteries appears however to be unnecessarily large, as a certain amount of native assistance is indispensable for all Batteries in India, in the shape of syces, grass-cutters, artificers and lascars, and consequently a corresponding reduction of Europeans may and ought to be effected.

Taking His Royal Highness' memorandum however as a guide, the proposed minimum establishment of 88 Batteries might be conveniently fixed at 24 Batteries of Horse and 64 Batteries of Field Artillery, the number of Field and Garrison Batteries being equal. Assuming the establishment of Horse Artillery Batteries at 175 Europeans of all grades—exclusive of officers, of Field Batteries at 160, and of Siege or Garrison Batteries at 100, we should have a total European Force of Artillery of

24 Batteries of Horse Artillery at 175 =	4,200
64 Batteries of Field Artillery at 160 =	10,240
64 Batteries of Garrison Artillery at 100 =	6,400

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20,840

But although the nearly unanimous tenor of the evidence laid before the Commission was in favor of keeping the Artillery, as a general rule, in the hands of Europeans, it was admitted that a certain portion of Native Artillery would be indispensable for special duties, where Europeans could not with safety or advantage be employed; for it must be taken into account that the employment of a European Battery of Artillery entails the necessity for European Infantry or Cavalry to support and protect it. On the Peshawar frontier, in the Derajat, in Scinde, As-

sam and other localities where the employment of Artillery is requisite with the Native Irregular force, either Natives (or Africans as recommended by Lord Elphinstone) must be employed to a certain extent.

For the purposes and localities specified, including Local Batteries and Mountain Trains, not less than 12 Batteries of Natives would suffice for the whole of India, but the strength might be reduced to 150 for each Battery or 1800 in all, establishments of extra drivers being attached according to the nature of the draught employed.

The Ordnance of these Batteries would necessarily be light, and might as a general rule be confined to 6-pounder guns and mountain howitzers with 8 pieces in battery. Horses, mules, camels or elephants being used for draught according to the nature of the locality where the Batteries might be employed. As the Europeans would be in proportion to the Native Artillery as nearly, 12 to 1, there would be little to apprehend from such a minority.

The remaining arm to be considered is that of the Engineers or Sappers and Miners. For constant and exposed manual labour the European Sapper is unsuited to the Indian climate, but for guiding and overlooking work his services are indispensable. No nation can produce better Miners, if properly directed than are to be found amongst the natives of India, and it would be an error not to avail ourselves of their peculiar aptitude in this line. But for conducting the sapping details of siege operations, for preparing the requisite material and for general superintendence of all Engineering work, European science and training as well as European energy are requisite. The simplest arrangement appears to be to combine the two elements in the same Company, but giving the European a higher position by making the lowest grade that of Second Corporal; a Company being composed of 30 European Non-Commissioned and Sappers and 100 Native Miners of all grades. One Company for each Division of the Army, and half that Force for general reserve, would probably afford a sufficient proportion for this arm.

The foregoing details in which the proportion of each arm has been limited to what may assuredly be considered a minimum complement, would give a total force as follows:—

64 Regiments of European Infantry,	57,600
64 Squadrons of European Cavalry,	9,600
24 Batteries of Horse Artillery,	4,200
64 Batteries of Field Artillery,	16,240
64 Batteries of Garrison Artillery,	6,400
12 Details of European Sappers,	540

Total of Europeans,

89,580

120 Battalions of Regular Native Infantry,	=	86,400
40 Battalions of Irregular Native Infantry,	=	28,800
32 Regiments of Irregular Native Cavalry,	=	19,200
12 Companies of Native Artillery,	=	1,800
152 Details of Gun Lascars,	=	2,280
18 Companies of Native Miners,	=	1,800
Total of Natives,		1,37,800

giving a grand total of Europeans and Natives of 2,28,860

The strength of the total force recommended by the Commission as an approximation to the probable requirements of India when the country may be permanently and completely settled, was in round numbers 80,000 Europeans and 1,90,000 Natives, or a grand total of 2,70,000 men of all classes.

The plan submitted above gives an excess of 8,580 European troops, but on the other hand it offers a reduction of 49,720 Natives as compared with the Commission's recommendation: it consequently possesses, at any rate, the advantage of economy, which is an important consideration at the present time.

We also incline to think that it has the advantage of much greater efficiency and security.

A native auxiliary army is, we admit, an undoubted necessity, and that Army must under any circumstances be a considerable one; but very much depends upon the limit assigned to its proportions. A native force properly organized, equipped and officered, if permanently maintained in a state of perfect discipline, and constantly brigaded with European troops, to which it is avowedly made only an auxiliary, may and ought to be highly efficient and most valuable; always providing its strength is retained within due limits of proportion to the European main body. A force such as that proposed above, in which the native element does not very greatly exceed the European,—the proportions being little more than 3 to 2,— whilst it affords an ample body of natives for special and detached duties and to relieve Europeans from unnecessary exposure, leaves them in a subordinate position, more especially when deprived of the European officers, and with all the regular Artillery composed of Europeans, and renders the chance of success in any contest so thoroughly hopeless, as practically to suppress all notion of, or speculation on, such folly. This important point attained, the hopes of the Native force must then naturally centre in the Government; and with an opening afforded to real merit, all the better members of the force would devote themselves to win a claim to promotion and reward, by efficiency and energy in the performance of their duties and by fidelity

to the only authority from which they have ought to fear or to hope.

On the other hand if the native element of the force is ever again allowed to acquire a considerable numerical superiority over the European portion, the knowledge of this fact and the belief that there might some day occur a favourable opportunity for successful opposition, must necessarily and prejudicially unsettle the minds of the native soldiery; for the late mutiny can never be forgotten, and the tiger that has once tasted blood will always be hankering after a second feast. A consciousness of numerical superiority is likely, as heretofore, to engender self-confidence and arrogance, a disinclination to discipline, a disposition to put forward unreasonable claims and to dictate terms to Government; and thus, future concession being impossible, a painful and injurious collision would speedily be brought about, and the constitution of that essential requisite, an efficient and faithful Native Army, would be rendered much more difficult and doubtful than before.

Put the Sepoy in his proper place as a local auxiliary to the European; instead of puffing up his vanity and pride with the idea of his being the safeguard and arbiter of the fortunes of the Empire, let him clearly see and understand that he holds a subordinate position and could be hopelessly and thoroughly crushed at pleasure; let him be under a stern discipline and feel a perfect confidence that he will experience reward or punishment according to his deserts; let him be treated with invariable justice and with a judicious mixture of firmness and kindness and he may be rendered again—what he was for many years—a loyal, patient, brave and efficient soldier, and a most valuable servant to the State. The whole question resolves itself pretty much into this; which is the true economy?—an Army composed of a small body of Europeans and a large body of Natives, which costs comparatively little, but in which the numerical preponderance gives the native portion a natural confidence that may at any time lead them to acts of insubordination, and must at all times render them objects of distrust, so that whilst it is dangerous to employ their services, those of the European portion are also paralyzed by the dread of faithless allies and the necessity for constantly watching their native comrades;—or, on the other hand, an Army costing more, but which, being composed of so large a proportion of Europeans as to obviate all chance of opposition and all necessity for distrust, may with safety be employed on any duty in any locality, and thus afford an equivalent and practical return to the State for the expense of its maintenance.

We believe that this contains the whole pith of the question,

and it only remains to decide what proportion of Europeans is requisite to insure the advantage of a faithful and efficient army, instead of a distrusted, distrustful, insubordinate and divided military mob.

That proportion we believe has not been exceeded in the foregoing proposition which gives, as already stated, nearly 2 Europeans to 3 Natives; although we confess that, but for the financial consideration, we should have preferred an establishment in which the two forces were equal.

The proposed allotment of this force to the different Presidencies, and any comparison of this plan with the various projects embodied in the report of the Commission, will be more advantageously noticed after the consideration of the two next questions.

Here it only remains to contrast the strength of the force now proposed and its probable cost, with that of the force existing on the old establishment before the mutiny of 1857.

From the official returns attached to the report of the Commission we find that the total effective force of the three Presidencies in the beginning of 1857, amounted to 277,746, but this does not embrace the Gwalior, Hyderabad, Oude, Nagpore and other Contingents of all arms, which may be assumed in round numbers to have been at least 36,000, thus giving a total force in India, Europeans and Natives, of 3,13,746.

This however includes 6170 European officers, leaving for comparison a total of 3,07,576, which comparison shows a reduction in the proposed plan of 78,716.

Unfortunately this saving in numbers does not represent the proportionate amount of saving in cost that would be effected, because the proposed reduction is wholly confined to the Native or cheapest portion of the Army in which it would amount to 1,27,944, the difference between 2,68,224 and 1,40,280, whilst there would be a large increase of Europeans from 39,352 to 88,580 or a total of 49,228, exclusive of officers in either case.

We have not the data—nor are they, we believe, available to the public,—that would enable us to fix with perfect accuracy the relative cost of European and Native soldiers of the different arms. The general impression appears to be that the proportions average about three to one, but that undoubtedly is an exaggerated estimate.

In the published report laid before the House of Commons in 1853 by the Select Committee on the Indian Territories, we find a statement given in by Mr. P. Melvill, Secretary in the Military Department of the India House, shewing the cost of the several branches of the Royal and Company's Armies in India, which exhibits the following results,—when the calculation is made of the annual cost per man,—excluding fractions.

European Infantry of the Royal Army,	£57-4-6
"    "    "    Company's Army,	£54-0-0
Native Infantry of the Royal Army,	£22-2-7
European Dragoon of the Royal Army,	£113-13-3
Native Trooper of the Company's Army,	£69-13-7
European Artillery,       "    "	£65-3-4
Native Golundaz,       "    "	£35-8-10

This statement however is not altogether satisfactory; the Native establishments are mixed up with the European Artillery, and the cost of the Ordnance material appears not be included, which would lessen the difference between the cost of European and Native Artillery, as the expense of a Battery itself is the same whether the complexion of the gunners is black or white. The copious and detailed returns attached to the reports of the Select Committee published in 1833 exhibit, on a long average of 18 years, a lower cost of both Europeans and Natives and a smaller difference between the two. This may be accounted for by the greatly improved condition of the European soldiers of late years, which must have added considerably to the military charges, more especially in the items of barracks and medical expenses.

From the statement quoted above it will be seen that the average cost of the European Infantry Soldier, or £55-12-3, is above two and a half fold that of the regular Sepoy, but that in the Cavalry and Artillery the cost is much less than two to one. Under these circumstances it will leave a very liberal margin on the right side, if we assume the cost of the European soldiers of all arms at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 as compared with the native soldiers of all arms.

The proposed increase of Europeans as shown above is 49,228 which multiplied by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  amounts to 1,23,070, or less than 1,27,544, the proposed reduction of Natives of all arms—by 4,874, which sum multiplied by £22-2-7 represents the amount of saving in the proposed establishment over the old one of 1857, which amount may in round numbers be calculated at about eleven lakhs of Rupees per annum. It must also be taken into account that the pay of the European officers is one of the heaviest items in the difference between the cost of Europeans and Natives; but in the reorganization of the Indian Army a large portion of this expense will practically be saved, as the officers of the old Native Regiments are available for employment with Europeans. Also it must not be forgotten that the proposed reduction of Natives is in the most expensive classes; the Regular Cavalry, which cost more than European Infantry or Artillery, are entirely swept away, and the Native Artillery in the manner nearly all reduced.

We may therefore safely assume that the proposed force, if placed on the most liberal footing of efficiency, would still be less costly than the old Army it is intended to replace. That it would be infinitely more efficient and more trustworthy cannot, we imagine, admit of a shadow of doubt.

The possibility of an entire or partial amalgamation of the line and local Armies, of interchange from one to the other, and the proportions in which either should be employed in India, are the points which together constitute the question next in importance.

As already stated, the Commissioners were divided into two parties altogether at issue on this point; the Royal officers being in favour of amalgamating with or rather absorbing into the Line Army, if not the whole, at least the European portion of the Local force already in existence; whilst the Secretary of State for India,—the only Civilian on the Commission,—sided with the Indian officers in favour of a very considerable Local force.

The opinions and arguments on both sides are given in the Report, as those of the majority and the minority, and are as follows:—

The Majority observe that a double European Army, such as that now established, has had its origin in the double government, which has hitherto existed—the authority of the East India Company having been distinct from that of the Crown, though derived from it, and subordinate to its general control.

The original formation was thus anomalous, and exceptional; and as the transfer by Parliament of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown has not carried with it the total amalgamation of the European portion of the two Armies, it has become necessary fully to consider the subject.

It does not appear that any case in history can be adduced, of the co-existence of two distinct armies supplied from the same sources, both as regards officers and men, serving the same Sovereign.

They observe that, on the contrary, the great object of legislation in all civilised countries has been so to organise the military forces, and resources of the State, as to produce unity of feeling and interest, under one supreme authority, throughout the whole body. That it is impossible to arrive at these ends in the case of two separate armies not amenable to the same authority as regards discipline and organisation, however closely assimilated in other respects. That nothing could be more unfortunate, not to say dangerous, than so to organise the armed forces of the State, as to sow the seeds, and form the groundwork, of professional jealousies and heart-burnings—the inevitable result of a double system—the consequences of which would be, that no selection for appointment could be made from either service, which would be judged on its own merits; that would be viewed rather with reference to that branch, whether line or local, from which the officer was selected.

They further say the Local Force of the late East India Company has proved itself to be, still it is the opinion of the Majority, that a Local Force deteriorates more than one, which, by frequent relief, has retained

into it fresh European notions and feelings, and a vigorous system of European discipline; and that this would more particularly be the case in a climate like that of India, where, according to the statistical statement of Sir Alexander Tulloch, backed by the professional opinion of Dr. Martin (himself an advocate for a Local Army) and others, the European constitution can never be said to become acclimatised but, on the contrary, deteriorates, gradually and surely, in increasing ratio.

That the resources of the State, as regards Imperial purposes, would be crippled by having a large body of its troops placed solely under the control of the Government of India.

That the very fact of the Local troops not being enabled to share in the battle-fields of Europe is a great disadvantage to them, and may lead to a feeling of inferiority on their part, which would be extremely prejudicial to their general discipline; and that, while the Crown ought to possess the advantage of giving to its Army the most extended sphere of action, the very nature of a double Army would, in a great measure, deprive the Line Army of the valuable experience it would acquire in India, whilst the Local Army would, in like manner, be debarred from all the benefits of field service in Europe.

That no Government, under any circumstances, would ever venture to withdraw from India the troops necessary for its defence. The question as to the force to be maintained in that country must be always decided by the Home Government, responsible to the Sovereign, and to the country, through Parliament.

That regulations could be drawn up for retaining in India officers of the Line Army, whose services might be required by the Local Government; and that officers of the Line would, undoubtedly, qualify themselves for employment in India, if such employment, and all the advantages attending it, were open to them; and so far from the resources of the Governor-General being curtailed by such an arrangement, it would, on the contrary, afford him a much larger field for the selection of able and useful officers.

That in a financial point of view, Line Regiments ought not to be, and with due regulations, as regards transport and organisation, would not be, more expensive than Local corps; but, even if they should be to some extent more costly, greater vigour would exist in their ranks, and the wisest economy consists in having the best organised body of troops the State can supply. This is more particularly the case in a vast Empire such as that of India, in which the European Army must ever play so conspicuous a part; and where, consequently, whatever tends to the greater efficiency of that Army, must at the same time add to our power, and secure most effectually the safety of Your Majesty's Indian Possessions.

That the Local Army of India, as now constituted, is more expensive than the Line in its non-effective charges.

That a double system of recruiting, the natural result of a double army, would operate most injuriously on recruiting in general; and that it would be next to impossible to carry it on satisfactorily, or with good results, if worked by two distinct authorities.

That England cannot raise and maintain permanently very large armies by voluntary enlistment, and therefore the best troops must be supplied, at even an increased cost, if necessary, in order to compensate by their efficiency and vigour for their numerical inferiority.

Should it, however, be ultimately decided, contrary to the strong and sincere conviction of the Majority of your Majesty's Commissioners, that, with a view of leaving undisturbed present vested interests, a Local European Force is to be maintained for service in India, they recommend that



the amount of such force should be limited to that now authorised by Parliament to be raised and maintained out of the revenues of India. It is admitted, even by the witnesses in favour of a double Army, that the Local Force is greatly benefited by the example set to it by the Troops of the Line; and that it is most important, and, indeed, absolutely necessary, to retain a proportion of Line Regiments in India. To diminish the relative proportion of Line Regiments to Local corps, would render the Line auxiliaries to the latter—a fatal error, which must, inevitably, tend to lower the position of the Line—by rendering it numerically, and, consequently, morally, inferior to the Local or larger force.

The Minority take an entirely different view of the question at issue. They entertain a strong conviction that the maintenance of a powerful Local Army, European as well as Native, is essential to the efficiency and permanence of British rule in India. They fear that to replace a large body of officers, accustomed to the habits, and acquainted with the language, of the country in which they serve, by others, doubtless of equal ability, but who, during their comparatively brief residence in the East, would have neither time, nor possibly inclination, to qualify themselves in the same manner for administrative duty, would seriously impair the power and curtail the resources of the Governor-General, and Governors of the several Presidencies. They regard the anomaly, which has been referred to, of maintaining two separate armies under one Sovereign, to be necessarily incident to the connection (in itself one of the greatest of anomalies) of England with her Indian Empire. They consider that late events have proved the benefit of having distinct armies for Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and that to dis sever the Native, from the Local European forces, by the fusion of the latter with the Line Army, would be to deteriorate the position, and destroy the *esprit de corps* of officers serving with Native troops, who would feel themselves reduced to a level below that of their brother officers of the Line.

The Minority, bearing in mind the limited amount and inelastic nature of the revenues of India, the present financial difficulties of its government, and the great additional burthen, which they conceive the system advocated by the Majority must impose, object earnestly on economical and financial grounds, to an arrangement, which, in their opinion, would practically diminish the control of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the Government of India, over the application of its revenues. The Minority do not admit the validity of the unqualified objections raised to double recruiting, neither do they concur in the opinions expressed, as to the alleged deterioration of Local European troops, subjected to like discipline and organisation with the Line, or the crippling of the available resources of the State, by the existence of a Local European Force in India. They consider such a force to be a wholesome check on the precipitate withdrawal of European troops from India, in cases where the Home Government might happen to find itself under the pressure of political emergencies in Europe; and they feel confident that the transfer of the Indian Armies to the Crown will prove a source of present and future security to Her Majesty's Empire in India; in proportion as radical and organic changes are few, and the weight and stability of the Local Armies are maintained by largely, but economically, increasing their European element.

The Minority will not add to the length of this Report by entering into any further discussion of the opinions of their Colleagues, as embodied in previous paragraphs, neither do they deem it necessary to set forth any more detailed exposition of their own views on the subject, or to recapitulate any of the powerful and, to them, most convincing arguments.

by which the expediency (not to say necessity) of maintaining a purely Local European, as well as Native force, for the protection of our Indian possessions, has been manifested and upheld in the evidence adduced before Your Majesty's Commissioners.

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It may be added, that the Minority of Your Majesty's Commissioners are quite agreed that a portion of the European force to be maintained in India hereafter should be supplied from the Army of the Line, to the extent, perhaps, of one-fourth, or even one-third, of the whole."

The foregoing statements on either side contain very strong arguments in favour of both Line and Local Armies,—*but of the two combined*, so as to insure to the State the special advantages that each may possess. The chief argument in favour of an exclusively Line Army, and one which if altogether correct would be really important, is the advantage that would be obtained from perfect uniformity of system and identity of feeling and interests, were the whole force amalgamated and placed under one head. But in any attempt at such amalgamation a serious difficulty must be encountered at the very outset. The absolute necessity for a Native Army is universally admitted, not only on financial grounds, but on those of policy and efficiency, and moreover for a force of considerable strength, fully equal at least to, if not numerically exceeding, the European portion,—the various recommendations ranging from equality to four to one. The Commissioners themselves suggested the general proportion of five Natives to two Europeans. Now this native force must necessarily be a local one, to which the system of organization, discipline and internal economy of the British Army is universally admitted to be altogether unsuited. Up to the year 1796 the Native Army was organized and maintained on a system totally distinct from that of the European force, and then it was a most efficient body. In that year the first steps were taken to introduce the British system, and since then departmental centralization and procrustean assimilation have gradually been introduced, until the power of the Commanding and other European officers was completely sapped and the practical efficiency of the Army destroyed. These evils are fully dwelt upon in all the evidence recorded, and the suggested abandonment of a system so detrimental, is supported by the Commissioners, who recommend an increase to the power of Commanding officers of Native corps, a revision of the Native Articles of War, and a simplification of the military code. Thus a large local force, and one moreover on a special and widely distinct system of organization, is unavoidable, and perfect assimilation, much less genuine and satisfactory amalgamation, is simply impracticable.

Such being the case, the proposed amalgamation of the European portion of the force is deprived of the chief alleged advan-

tage,—that of constituting a part of one grand uniform system. But supposing that the Local European force of all arms could, without difficulty or injury to the guaranteed rights of existing members of the service, be amalgamated with or absorbed into the Line Army, such a measure would be ruinous to the morale and consequently to the efficiency of the Local Native force. Heretofore the Local European and Native forces have formed one conjoint service, actuated by sentiments of perfect unanimity and with identity of feelings and interests. At present the European portion consists of 12 Regiments of Infantry, 5 of Cavalry and 17 Brigades or Battalions of Artillery. Were this body separated entirely from the Native portion and merged into the Line, the Native Army, deprived of that element which added so materially to its strength, position and tone, would naturally and unavoidably be exposed to a feeling of degradation, a diminution of service-pride and *esprit de corps*, would suffer from a depressed tone, and would gradually lapse into a second-rate and inferior service, in which light it would assuredly be viewed by its more fortunate brethren. From a force so situated what could be expected?

But setting aside this important objection; the obstacles to the practical absorption of the Local European force into that of the Line are so great, that when the details come to be looked into and arranged it would, we suspect, be finally pronounced an impossibility. The officers of the Local force entered the East India Company's service under a certain covenant; in compensation for a life of exile in an uncongenial climate they were guaranteed increased allowances, liberal retiring pensions, or if they survived the majority of their contemporaries and still adhered to the service, a handsome provision for their later years in, formerly, a share of the Off-Reckoning Fund, and, latterly, an equivalent fixed allowance: they had also a guarantee against regimental supersession in any shape; and lastly they possessed a great advantage in their claims upon certain funds, either bequeathed to the service, as in the case of Lord Clive's fund, or supported by subscriptions rendered compulsory by the Government, which thus not only countenanced but became practically responsible for these institutions, which it liberally supported and fostered.

the continuance of all these advantages has been secured to existing members of the service by Act of Parliament, on the offer of the direct Government of India to the Crown.

the possession of these special privileges must render the amalgamation of the Local officers with those of the Line, a matter of extreme difficulty, and would most certainly not only "sow the seed" but produce a plentiful crop of those "jealousies

and heartburnings" which the majority of the Commissioners express themselves so desirous to obviate and remove.

It must be borne in mind that the number of Local officers thus situated, amounts to between six and seven thousand, including the Medical Department, a large proportion of whom have passed some of the best years of their life in qualifying themselves for the specialities of Indian service; of the body generally it may be said that its members possess a considerable share of valuable local knowledge and experience, acquired in a rough but practical school, and that since its formation as an organized body it has ever been fertile in the production of able men and brave soldiers. It is a grave question, in the present aspect of affairs in Europe, if the nation could afford to lose such a body of trained and practical officers, which must be immediately replaced, and that too by untried and inexperienced men.

Yet this is unavoidable, with its attendant evil of the enormous expense of pensioning off all these officers, unless their services can be made available; which is only to be done satisfactorily and with justice to the interests of all concerned, by employing them, as heretofore, in a local force. Moreover as opinions are nearly unanimous in favour of a reduction of the old proportions of the Native Army and an increase to the number of Europeans, it follows that as the complement of existing Local officers is more than sufficient for the largest number of Native troops likely to be employed,—regular, irregular or police,—the balance, if employed at all, must be attached to European corps. The economy of this arrangement is self-evident, and in the present state of the Indian finances it would be unjustifiable to disregard this grand essential, which thus constitutes one of the strongest arguments in favour of a considerable Local European force. It has been crudely suggested that the Local officers might have the option of entering the Line Army on the ordinary footing, and that if they declined they should receive a pension or a bonus according to their standing; in other words, that they should be indirectly coerced into the resignation of their highly-prized, special and guaranteed privileges, under the penalty of loss of their profession. Such a measure would be as ungenerous as it would be unjust, being in spirit if not in letter a complete infringement of the late Parliamentary guarantee; and we cannot for a moment believe that the people of Great Britain would permit such treatment of a body of officers, who have done them some good service, having mainly won and maintained for them their magnificent Indian Empire.

Returning however to the alleged advantage of unity of system under the control of one head: supposing for the sake of

argument that the whole force in India was converted into a Line Army, would it or could it possibly be under the exclusive control of one head? The Commander-in-Chief of the Forces might have the full control of the discipline, drill, organization, internal economy and equipment of the entire army; but could he, at home,—or his representative and delegate, the Commander-in-Chief in India—be supposed to exercise the control and disposal of the Force as regards its employment or location, the administrative management, or the patronage of the extra-Regimental Staff? If so, what would become of the authority and position of the Viceroy and Governor General of India? The necessity for concentrating and retaining the ostensible as well as the actual power and control over all military and civil establishments in the hands of the supreme head of the Local Government is self-evident, and admitted by even the staunchest advocates for the military authority of the Horse Guards. On this point the Minute of Lord Elphinstone—an old Line Officer and an advocate for amalgamation—is very explicit and deserving of consideration. He says “if there is one thing which must be laid down as a principle not to be departed from in our military arrangements in India, it is the entire subordination of the Army both European and Native to the Government of India. The troops of the Queen’s regular Army, whilst serving in India, must be wholly subject to the authority of the Queen’s Government in India. Regimental promotion indeed may be left entirely to the Horse Guards, but the patronage of every Staff appointment in India, should be vested, as with very few exceptions it now entirely is, in the hands of the Supreme and Local Governments, and of the Supreme and Local Commanders-in-Chief.”

The argument in favour of the employment of Line troops in India, next in importance to that of the ideal and impracticable unity of system and control, is that, in time of European peace, India—the normal condition of which may be looked upon as one of warfare at some point or in some shape or other, and in which the British Army of occupation may be always considered as in camp,—affords the only field in which the British soldier can learn the practical part of his profession. This is undoubtedly true; India is to Great Britain what Algeria is to France; at any rate in a military point of view it ought to be so, and some similar advantages should be obtained for it. On this account it is undoubtedly desirable that the field of Indian service should be open to all branches of the British Army that can be employed there with advantage. But in following up the parallel between India and Algeria, it must not be forgotten that France has always had a Local force in that colony, and the European portion

of it the *elite* of her Army; moreover, notwithstanding her proximity she has never detached any seriously large proportion of her Line Army on that service. Now were the whole of the European force required for India, which cannot be assured at much less than 90,000 men of all arms, to be taken from the Line Army, it would swallow up more than one-half of the whole force of the empire; and that at such a distance as to render its immediate recall impracticable. Were even half the required force or, say, in round numbers 40,000 men of all arms permanently employed in India, it would be quite as much as the national force could conveniently spare. Much has been said in objection to a Local force, that not being under the direct control of the Home Authorities, it could not be employed in Europe, and that thus a large portion of the forces of the State would be tied up and not available if required at home in any emergency. But so far from considering this an objection, we look upon it as one of the strongest arguments in favour of a considerable Local force.\* If the European force in India is fixed as it ought to be at the minimum strength requisite for the security and defence of the country, the reduction of this force could only be justified by some sudden and pressing emergency; but owing to the distance from England, the troops thus withdrawn could not reach home until such emergency must have passed away in some shape or other. For this reason it is not real danger or critical emergencies that are likely to cause the withdrawal of troops for India, but rather internal and Parliamentary pressure, the consequence of some periodical panic or the economical doctrines of the peace party. It is the possibility of such influences that renders it desirable that the mischief they might occasion should be circumscribed by placing the larger and most important portion of the force beyond their control.

The fact that Line troops, being necessarily subject to periodical relief, would cause a constant infusion of new blood into the European force and also introduce the military changes and improvements of Europe, is to a certain extent true, but not deserving of any great consideration; as unfortunately the number of casualties in India is so large, that the necessity for annually replenishing the force with recruits from Europe would of itself always insure a sufficient amount of fresh blood, whilst the increased facilities for visiting and communicating rapidly with Europe, would enable the Local officers to keep themselves *au courant* with all military novelties and reforms that might be introduced in Europe. The inestimable boon recently accorded to the European Non-Commissioned Officers of the Local Army, by which a limited number are in future to be allowed annually

to proceed on furlough to Europe, will also tend to maintain that body at a higher standard, as measured by the scale of European knowledge and experience.

On the other hand the cost of these necessary periodical reliefs would add greatly to the military charges, whilst the services of a large percentage of the force would be constantly lost to the state whilst in transit to and fro. Thus, if the whole European force belonged to the Line Army and it only amounted to the Commission's recommendation of 80,000 men, a regular relief every ten years would be equal to 8000 annually out and home, and allowing four months for each voyage the average constant loss of service would equal 5200, or supposing only half the number returned home, it would be equivalent to the constant loss of the services of 4000 men.

Again, the Regiments on arrival in India must naturally be less efficient for a time, as far as their fitness for active service in an Indian climate is concerned, than corps which have been thoroughly acclimated, as the Local force would necessarily be. A remarkable instance in support of this view is cited in the evidence given by Major General Sir R. H. Vivian with reference to the case of H. M.'s 71st Highlanders and the 3rd Bombay European Regiment. These corps were brigaded together in the late campaign in Bundelkund and in the affair before Koonch in May 1858; they were similarly circumstanced in regard to fatigue, exposure and equipment, yet the former Regiment had twenty men attacked by sun-stroke, of whom seven died, whilst in the Local Regiment not a man was attacked. The latter corps was acclimated, which the Highlanders were not, having been only three months in the country.

The theory of the necessary deterioration of Local troops as propounded by the majority of the Commissioners is satisfactorily disproved in practice, by a simple reference to facts past and present. The 1st Regiment of Bombay Fusiliers has been in existence for nearly two centuries, having been raised after the marriage of Charles the 2nd, contemporaneously with the 2nd or Queen's Royals, purposely to garrison Bombay, which had just been ceded by Portugal as the dowry of Queen Catherine. The 1st Regiment of Madras Fusiliers had its origin not very many years later; and the 1st Regiment of Bengal Fusiliers and the Artillery Regiments of the three Presidencies have all been in existence as Local corps for more than a century. All have been constantly employed on active service, all have won a world wide reputation, and we are unaware of any recorded fact in the history of India that would warrant a belief in their alleged deterioration.

Not the least important point in the consideration of this ques-

tion is the fact that the officers of a Local force must be naturally, as a body, better qualified for general employment in India than those belonging to the Line army. The latter having the extended field of European employment before them, and considering themselves whilst in India, where a large proportion would first arrive late in life, as mere birds of passage, are of course more likely to turn their thoughts and aspirations to the wider and more agreeable opening to professional fame and fortune, and to regulate their studies, literary and practical, accordingly. On the other hand the Local officer always arriving in India whilst still young, with the knowledge that there must be his sphere of action during the best years of his life, naturally turns his exclusive attention to preparing himself for a successful career in the only locality where he has a chance of distinction. This necessity and this special training produced the Munros, Malcolms, Ochterlonys, Lawrences, Outrams, and Nicholsons of the Indian Army, and disastrous to the fortunes of the empire would be the measure that deprived the local Government of its selection from amongst men so trained.

But above all, the strongest argument in favour of a mixed force composed of both Line and Local troops, is to be found in the generous emulation and wholesome rivalry that must necessarily be excited when the two elements are judiciously blended together, and when the advantages of each, as regards emolument and staff employ, are equalized or fairly proportioned under fixed regulations, so as to remove all grounds for jealousy or heartburning. Nor must it be forgotten that circumstances might arise to render it desirable that one force might act as a moral if not a physical check upon the other. The recent unfortunate exhibition of feeling on the part of a portion of the soldiers of the East India Company on their compulsory transfer to the service of the Crown, affords a case in point as regards one portion, and similar or analogous circumstances might—human nature being ever the same—render a corresponding check on the other side equally desirable.

Whilst on this painful subject we must enter our protest against the ungenerous use that has been made of this sad event to convert it into a political weapon for the destruction of the Local force as a separate body. The remarks of the late Secretary of State for War during the recent debate in the House of Commons on the bill for increasing the number of local Europeans to be maintained in India, come with a singularly bad grace from one, who, as Chairman of the Organization Commission on the 25th November 1858—with reference to an opinion given by Colonel Durand in his evidence to the effect that the services of the Local force might be rendered available for



employment beyond Indian limits in cases of emergency, provided certain Legislative forms were gone through,—observed in reply. “But you assume that which I believe to be perfectly incorrect, namely, that if a man was enlisted under certain conditions, Parliament would have the power to waive those conditions; *you would then have a mutiny in your army at once!*” Surely the statesman who had so distinctly pointed out the inevitable results of certain measures might have been more tolerant when these measures produced such results in so modified a form. We allude not only to the exaggerations of facts, but to the inferences drawn or wrested from them.

Having thus noticed the leading arguments on both sides of the question, we incline to the belief that the unbiassed portion of our readers will agree with us in opinion that a mixed army of Line and Local Troops offers greater advantages than one exclusively composed of either description of force. We have shown that the great object of perfect unity of system with entire subordination to one head, is unattainable under any circumstances; but if this unity were carried out in a mixed force to the full extent that would be practicable in an exclusively Line Army, the objections to the combined Line and Local Force in a great measure fall to the ground; now we firmly believe that the introduction of such a system would be attended with no great practical difficulties.

The Regimental system of the British Army is an admirable one, probably the most perfect of its kind in existence. Let this be adopted by every European Corps in the Local Army; let the internal economy of all European Corps, Line or Local, be precisely the same in all respects; let there be one code of regulations for the whole European force in India; let the authority of the Commander of the Forces, or of his representative the Commander-in-Chief in India, be exercised equally in both services in all matters of Regimental detail, discipline, drill or equipment; let the pay and audit code be revised and simplified and made equally applicable to the corresponding arms in the two services, the Indian pay and allowances being precisely the same. Let all Regimental, Brigade, Garrison and the subordinate portion of the Divisional and General Staff of the Army, rest with the superior or local Commanders-in-Chief, subject to certain special nominations from home; the Divisional Commands and the higher grades of the Army Staff requiring the approval, and in certain cases the special nomination, of the Government; and with the latter, to rest all other appointments. Lastly, let a fixed proportion, with reference to numerical strength, be laid down for the Brigade, Garrison, Division and Army

Staff of the two services, and then, all advantages being equalized, existing jealousies and clashing of interests would be at an end. Original commissions would of course continue to be granted by the Secretary of State and Council for India, the patronage of the Horse Guards being already as large as is desirable; subsequent Regimental proportion to continue on the seniority system, under the orders of the local Government, as at present.

By such an arrangement we should obtain all the unity and assimilation practicable under any circumstances, with the advantage of a mixed force combining European science and energy with local experience and special training; each element sufficiently distinct to ensure a generous emulation and beneficial rivalry, without the fear of jealousy, heartburning or obstructive ill will; affording a mutual check, should such even be requisite; whilst the Royal Army would obtain the benefit of the long coveted field of Indian service to as full an extent as would be consistent with or suitable to the total strength of its establishment, at the same time that the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Indian Army would remain intact and inviolate.

All entering the service subsequent to the date of the transfer, would of course be liable to future change of organization, transfer or amalgamation, should such hereafter be rendered advisable, partially or wholly, by any unforeseen change of circumstances.

In connection with this question, it remains to consider the relative proportions the two forces should bear to each other.

Speaking generally we consider that the nearer they approach to equality the better, but that a slight preponderance should exist on the side of the Local force. The Commissioners observe that to diminish the proportion of Line to Local troops would render the former auxiliaries to the latter, and tend to lower the position of the Line "by rendering it numerically and consequently morally inferior to the Local or larger force." Now in regard to the Line troops which form a portion of the great and glorious British Army this argument is altogether inapplicable; but it precisely describes what would be the result, on the other side, if the whole European Local force was numerically weaker than the portion of the Line Army in India. On this ground we would desire to see a decided preponderance, though a moderate one in favor of the Local Force.

But although the total strength of the two bodies might advantageously be brought near to equality, it is not necessary or desirable that this proportion should be kept up in each arm; on the contrary, such an arrangement would be productive of serious inconvenience. The Infantry arm is that which can be most easily raised or replaced, and which therefore can best be spared from home. Moreover it is the least expensive arm to move,

having little or no *materiel* to accompany it, whilst the training and organization of this arm renders it more available for general service in any locality and adapts it more speedily to the special duties of oriental service, than would be the case with the other arms. The Heavy Cavalry of Europe is quite unsuited to service in India, where the Lightest British Dragoon is much heavier than is desirable either with reference to the means available for mounting him, or the nature of the duties required from Cavalry in the East. But India is almost the only field which the British Light Cavalry possesses in which to acquire practical training, in time of European peace. It is therefore desirable that a few Regiments should always be employed in this country, where they should be equipped as lightly as practicable; in spite of which however they must always support the heavy or reserve Cavalry of the Army.

A similar argument holds good with regard to the Royal Artillery, who can be ill spared from home in any numbers, and who must either bring out all their own *materiel* or use the lighter ordnance and equipments of the Local Artillery, which, though in some respects of a more rough and ready character, are, we believe, better suited to the climate and the special nature of the service than the Royal *materiel*, perfect as that is admitted to be for the purposes of European warfare. In either case there is an evil; in the one the cost and trouble of the transport of *materiel* not the best suited for the purpose; in the other the necessity for a change of *materiel*, which renders it necessary to unlearn as well as to learn, and which, from the fact of being a change, is not likely to find favour in the eyes of those long trained to the use of different equipments, which they have been taught, and with reason, to consider as most efficient.

Lastly, it must not be forgotten that both the Cavalry and Artillery have, of necessity, attached to them a large establishment of natives in the shape of Syces, Grass-cutters, and Lascars, and to obtain the fullest advantage from the aid of these men, some knowledge of the native languages and habits is very requisite; and consequently frequent change in the course of relief, or even of transfer from one Presidency to the other, must be attended with more practical inconvenience than in the case of Infantry movements. It is undoubtedly true, as it is highly creditable to them, that the Royal Artillery Batteries sent out to India during the mutiny in 1857, and for the most part furnished with local *materiel* and native establishments, were speedily in a state of efficiency and did good service in the campaign; but this was a case of peculiar emergency, calling for the best exertions of every British officer and soldier, and on

such an occasion it was not probable that such a renowned body as the Royal Artillery would be wanting. Moreover it must be remembered that it was found necessary to attach Local Artillery officers to these Batteries, to interpret and to afford local information; an arrangement which—although, owing to the good feeling of all those concerned, it generally worked well,—was open to many grave objections, and placed the Indian officers in a false and disagreeable position, which it would have been most unfair to the service to have continued to act upon.\*

Unfortunately the services of that admirable Corps, the Royal Engineers, are almost useless for India, as that arm is a very costly one, and the European Sappers cannot perform constant manual labour in an Indian climate.

Under these circumstances it would be advisable not to send out any Heavy Cavalry or Sappers of the Royal Army, and only to employ the Light Cavalry and Artillery to a limited extent, leaving the bulk of the Royal force to consist of Infantry.

Another important consideration is that of the Local means already available. Commencing with the main arm, the Infantry, we find that there are already 12 Regiments of Local European Infantry and 149 Regiments of Native Infantry, although the majority of the latter in the Bengal Presidency are represented by skeletons, or merely by the *Cadres* of European officers. In the Local Army it has long been customary to assign one *Cadre* of officers to a Native Regiment, and a double complement or two *Cadres* to a European Regiment. The result is that there are at present 80 such *Cadres* in the Bengal Army, 58 at Madras and 35 at Bombay, making a total of 173 *Cadres* of Infantry officers. Now it has been proposed in this Article that the number of regular Native Infantry Battalions for all India should be 120, and if a *Cadre* of Officers is assigned to each, there will remain 53 *Cadres*, sufficient to furnish 26 European Regiments on the usual scale of a double complement each, with one *Cadre* to spare. This latter might advantageously be assigned to the Bombay Marine Battalion, a Corps which ought to be increased and made of more general use than at present, and

\* Admirable as were the exertions and services of the Royal Artillery during the Campaign, we were scarcely prepared to find the Marquess of Tweeddale one of the Commissioners, after having read or heard all the evidence brought forward, recording the following assertion "The Royal Artillery which served under Sir A. Wilson landed at Calcutta, when they were equipped, and having, after a long march, joined him at Delhi, they served to his entire satisfaction during the Siege."—As there was not a single Royal Artilleryman at the Siege of Delhi or in the neighbourhood, and as in fact none of this arm had arrived from England when Delhi fell, this statement is rather remarkable.

which, to be thoroughly efficient, would require a full complement of European officers, especially as it ought to be organized with a view to, and rendered available for, being much broken up into detachments. Here then is a simple mode of providing for all the Infantry officers in the Local force, which would then consist of 26 European Regiments and 120 Battalions of Regulars with 40 Irregular Native Battalions, the latter body being officered, as at present, from the regular Regiments.

To complete the proposed establishment of 64 European Regiments, 38 Line Regiments or Battalions would be requisite. As the British Line at present is composed of 131 Battalions, including the Rifle Brigade, 38 is as large a number as it would be prudent or convenient to maintain permanently detached in India; as with the Regiments which would constantly be in transit to and fro in course of the regular reliefs, the average proportion employed in and for India, including Ceylon and China, may be estimated at fully one-third of the whole Line, which has still to supply all the other colonies. The deduction from the present establishment of 38 Battalions, or with reliefs, say, 40 for India, would leave 91 for Home and Colonial service, being within one of the number laid down by H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, as the minimum requisite for that purpose; consequently little if any change would be involved in the present establishment of the British Line.

Of European Cavalry it is proposed that there should be 64 Squadrons or 16 Regiments. Of Local European Cavalry there are at present 5 Regiments, all in Bengal, and altogether in India there are 21 *Cadres* of officers. As the ultimate abolition of all the regular Native Cavalry is almost unanimously recommended, these officers would all be available for European Regiments; doubling the *Cadres* would supply 10½ Regiments, which might advantageously be completed to 11 Local European Regiments, which would render 5 Line Regiments necessary to complete the proposed establishment.

The British Cavalry of the Line consists of 7 Regiments of Heavy Cavalry or Dragoon Guards, and 18 of so-called Light Cavalry,—Dragoons, Light Dragoons, Hussars, and Lancers; but of these 18 Regiments, three are as much Heavy Cavalry as the Dragoon Guards, leaving only 15 (nominally) Light Regiments, so that if 5 of these Corps are permanently maintained in India, one-third of that arm would also be absorbed. It may be argued that at the present moment there are several of the heavy Regiments in India, and that one of them at least has done admirable service; nevertheless we consider that they are out of place; true it may be shown that they are in reality little if at all heavier than the so-called Light Dragoons, and we believe that

such being the case, led to their employment in India; but this is only adding to the evil, or rather showing its full extent, by proving how unnecessarily, and for India how objectionably, heavy the so-called Light Cavalry must be. Certain it is that cattle cannot be found in India to mount any large number of heavy men efficiently; and when mounted they are almost useless for anything but the mere shock of battle, which native opponents are little likely to encounter. What is wanted for India is a body of really Light Cavalry, light weights, lightly equipped and trained to rapid and continued pursuit. For such a purpose the *Chasseurs d'Afrique* of the French Algerian Army might in a great measure be taken as a model, composed as those Regiments are of light picked men, bold riders, good shots and skilful swordsmen, mounted on small Arabs that in India would be considered undersized even for native troopers. No reason exists, of which we are aware, why such a system should not be adapted for the Light Horse of India, and with the material available to work upon, and the constant chances of employment, these Regiments ought to be rendered the best Light Cavalry in the world: but they must be soldiers for work not for show.

The Native or Irregular Cavalry would have no complement of European officers permanently attached, but like the Irregular Infantry a certain limited number of officers would be appointed, selected from the regular Corps of the whole army, nearly as at present.

Thus the Mounted Force for all India would consist of 5 Regiments of Light Dragoons, 11 Regiments of Local Light Horse and 32 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry. The only increase of officers requisite would be two Field Officers to complete the additional  *Cadre* required, the Captains and Subalterns being supplied from the remaining Corps, which would bear that or even further reduction.

As regards the reorganization of the Artillery, the simplest plan would be to follow out the principle of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge's plan, with such modifications as might be requisite to meet the actual demand for this arm. He proposed to form the existing 24 Brigades and Battalions of Local Artillery at the three Presidencies, into one Regiment of 16 Brigades, of which 4 to be Horse and 12 Foot Artillery Brigades. If any portion of the Royal Artillery is to be permanently employed in India, such a measure is absolutely necessary, otherwise the Local Artillery would be placed in a most galling and unjust position of inferiority to their more fortunate brethren of the Royal Artillery, by whom they would be for ever superseded in the higher grades.

Allowing 9 First and 9 Second Captains with 21 Lieutenants to each Brigade, the existing establishment would exactly suffice for the proposed change; the only increase requisite being in Field Officers,—an increase required under any circumstances, to put this body on an equal footing with, not only their brethren of the Royal Artillery, but with those of the other branches of the Local Army, the proportion of Field Officers to the other grades being so much smaller in the Local Artillery than in any other arm. Moreover as all parties now appear to be alive to the special value of Artillery in India, it may be inferred that, in accordance with the almost unanimous tenor of the recommendations contained in the evidence laid before the Commission, this arm will, for the future, be maintained in larger proportion to the general force than was heretofore the case, and consequently that at every large station, two, three or even more Artillery Batteries of sorts will be brigaded together; the presence of Field Officers to command these details is indispensable, but at present as far as the Local Force is concerned, they are not available. Assuming that the 24 existing Brigades and Battalions were reformed into 16 Brigades, as proposed, of which 4 to be Horse Artillery of 6 Batteries each, and the remaining 12 Foot Artillery Brigades of 8 Batteries each, we should have 24 Batteries of Horse Artillery and 96 of Foot Artillery. But it has been shown in the preceding pages that the minimum force of Artillery required for India is 24 Batteries of Horse and 128 of Foot Artillery, consequently 32 Batteries of Royal Artillery, equal to 4 Brigades, would also be requisite to complete the proposed establishment. And with a view to more perfect uniformity and equality of advantages, one-half of both the Royal and the Local Foot Artillery should be Field, and the other half Siege or Garrison, or, as generally termed in India, *Reserve Artillery*. H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge proposed to employ five Brigades of Royal Artillery in India and all to be Field Artillery; but if the services of one of them can be dispensed with, and of the remaining four, if two were Garrison Brigades, the annual saving of expense would be very great. Moreover permanently to supply 5 Brigades of Field Artillery for India, would be considered to necessitate the formation of 2 additional Brigades at home. One of these could certainly be dispensed with, and if one new Brigade was created, both Regiments would consist equally of 16 Brigades. H. R. H. proposed to designate the two Corps as the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Royal Artillery. We should prefer to see the latter termed *the Indian Artillery*, which would more clearly mark its special field of duty.

The 12 Native Batteries required for local duties might be attached one to each Brigade of Foot Artillery, for which rea-

son it has been suggested to allow 9 Captains of each grade to a Brigade, instead of the usual complement of 8. Lastly, whilst following out the Duke's suggestion in regard to the strength and composition of Brigades, we think it would be far preferable if the Local Brigades of Foot Artillery, instead of being one-half Field and one-half Garrison Brigades, were each composed of 4 Field and 4 Garrison Batteries, exclusive of the Native Batteries. This would leave the proportion unchanged, and practically would be found a great advantage, as it would admit of Field and Garrison Batteries of the same Brigade being stationed together under the command of their own Field Officers.

The Artillery force on this plan would consist of 4 Brigades of Horse Artillery of 6 Batteries each, 4 of Royal Foot Artillery of 8 Batteries each, and 12 of Local Foot Artillery of 8 European and 1 Native Battery each.

The relative details and strength of the two forces would thus be as follows:—

Line Troops.			
38 Regiments of Infantry	900 strong	=	34,200
5 Regiments of Cavalry	600 „	=	3,000
4 Brigades of Artillery at 1280 & 1000,		=	4,160
Total, ... ..			41,360

Local European Troops.			
26 Regiments of Infantry	900 strong	=	23,400
11 Regiments of Cavalry	600 „	=	6,600
4 Brigades of H. Arty. at 1,050	„	=	4,200
12 Brigades of Ft. Arty. at 1,040	„	=	12,480
18 Detachments of Sappers, ... ..			540
Total, ... ..			47,220

The relative totals being in the proportions of 7 to 8, just the difference desirable.

Next in importance to the consideration of the total force requisite for India and the composition of its European quota, comes the question as to whether or not it is advisable to *amalgamate the three Local Armies of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies*. With those members of the Commission who voted for, and those officers who gave evidence in favour of, one Army and that a Line force, this local amalgamation was of course advocated as a part of the general system of uniformity. On the other hand, most of the advocates for the maintenance of a Local force, were strongly in favour of leaving the several Local Armies perfectly distinct; but this view is advocated, not



so much as forming a portion of the general question of amalgamation, as upon its own special grounds.

It is urged, and not without a considerable show of truth and reason, that the separation of the Native Armies of Madras and Bombay from that of Bengal, was of inestimable advantage during the mutiny, which was chiefly confined to the latter Presidency. It is also shown that the Madras Army, which from its composition was the most widely separated in feeling and interests from that of Bengal, was the most heartily opposed to and perfectly ready and willing to act against the latter force; whilst the Bombay Army, which contained a portion of Poorbeahs, similar to and connected with the Bengal Sepoys, was not altogether without taint, especially in certain corps in which the Hindustani element was the most predominant. It must also be taken into consideration that, whilst the old Bengal Native Army mutinied as a body and is practically non-existent, leaving an open field for the reconstruction of a new force upon whatever terms may be deemed most advisable, the Madras and Bombay Armies, generally speaking, behaved faithfully and loyally in the hour of great trial and temptation, when their defection would have had a most disastrous effect; and consequently they deserve great consideration. On this account it is most desirable that no changes should be introduced which would injuriously effect their interests, or that might be opposed to their feelings and prejudices. Neither must it be forgotten how much injury has been already inflicted upon the Native Armies of India by the mania for uniformity and centralization which has so long been prevalent. These are considerations which should all be carefully kept in view in devising any scheme of reorganization of the Native portion of the force.

But on the other hand there are strong arguments in favour of a partial amalgamation.

So long as the several Armies are recruited in their own peculiar localities of enlistment, and composed of races not only differing in habits, feelings and interests, but actually to a certain extent antagonistic to each other, it matters very little whether they are all designated as members of the *Indian Army* or of their own Provincial or Presidency forces; the separation and antagonism will exist just the same between the Dekhani—whether he be Mahomedan or Hindu, Mahrattah, Tamulian, Purwarree or Telinga,—and the Hindustani, whether from Oude, Central India or the Punjab. But the more the several distinct races are kept apart from each other, as a general rule, the wider will be their separation of feeling, and the greater and more permanent their antagonism. There are those who have recom-

mended the employment of the several races in other than their own localities, who would, for instance, send the Sikh to the Dekhan, the Poorbeah to Burmah, the Mahratta to the Punjab, the Rajpoot to Sind, and the Goorkah to Central India; but such a theory, however specious at first sight, is in reality crude and impracticable. All the evidence on this point, from those whose character, local knowledge, and long experience must carry most weight, tends in a country direction, and goes to prove the advisability of giving the Native force, as far as practicable, a provincial organization, bearing to a certain extent the character of a permanent militia. The dread of and dislike to protracted and distant removal from the neighbourhood of their homes, is believed by many to have been one, and not the least, amongst the causes of the recent mutiny; the Punjab Committee speak strongly to this point, and illustrate their opinion by an anecdote indicating the native feeling in regard to distant or, as it is deemed, foreign service. Moreover in the Madras Army, as a general rule, the sepoys have their families with them, and a distant remove renders it necessary either to leave their families behind them, or else the expense attendant on their transport presses very heavily on the limited means of the men and induces a feeling of discontent. In short, whatever sacrifices of personal feeling the Native soldier may be induced to make, from a knowledge of the advantages of the service, from a sentiment of faith to his salt, or personal regard for his officers, or under the influence of discipline, he has a strong and ineradicable dislike to protracted service at any long distance from his home and family.

These feelings, or prejudices if you will, no Government would feel justified in ignoring or setting altogether aside; and so long as they exist, it would be impossible to employ the whole Native force promiscuously in any or all parts of the Empire, and at the same time to maintain a contented Army.

On these grounds we consider that the inhabitants of the Dekhan and Hindustan—the two great divisional landmarks,—should be each employed in their respective localities, as far as practicable; the former, who, composed of various races, constitute the bulk of the Madras and Bombay Armies, retaining, as at present, Military occupation of the Dekhan, with the addition of Sind, Cutch and Guzerat, and also, on account of their greater aptitude for and willingness to undertake, sea voyages, holding the stations in Burmah, the Straits and Aden; the Hindustanis and Punjabis occupying the provinces at present attached to the Bengal Presidency, including Oude, the Punjab and Central India.

By a strict adherence to this system as a general rule, though

with full and understood right and power to deviate from it occasionally, in cases of emergency,—the whole force being especially entertained for general service,—the troops would be rendered more contented, and consequently more efficient, whilst the desirable separation of races and diversity of feelings would be more surely maintained.

But whilst due and full regard is bestowed on this important point of local segregation, we can see no valid reason, nor is any satisfactory argument to be found in the evidence, why the whole local force should not still constitute one army, the European portion assimilated entirely, and the native portion as far as practicable, in all the main points of organization, discipline and equipment; the whole under the general control of one Commander-in-Chief with one General Staff open to the Army at large, one code of pay and general regulations, and one system of drill and discipline: the native troops circulating within their one Presidency or Provincial limits, the Europeans available for service in any part of India. Such an arrangement would be productive of a very considerable saving to the state, and would introduce more unity and harmony amongst the European portion of the force. Unfortunately it is an undeniable fact that the separation into three distinct bodies with different and rival interests, has been productive not of generous emulation but of local prejudices, jealousies, bickerings and ill-feeling. In proof of this it is only necessary to refer to some of the more than ungenerous remarks to be found in the evidence given by certain local officers before the Commission. The division of the force into three distinct armies is productive of great expense, involving as it necessarily does, the maintenance of three separate bodies of General and Departmental Staff: and this outlay is further increased by the natural desire to equalize the advantages of the several armies by giving a similar or proportional number of appointments in each, whether absolutely required or not: for any special advantage possessed by one Presidency, is looked upon as a grievance at the others. Were there only one General and Departmental Staff for and open to the whole Army, all this jealousy would be at an end; and the saving to Government would be very considerable.

Although there would be no real difficulties in carrying out this measure, it would still require to be carefully arranged and gradually introduced. The Commander-in-Chief in India, although controlling and regulating the whole army in communication with the Supreme Government, could not—however extensive and efficient might be his establishment of Staff—conduct all the minutiae of detail in so vast and widely scattered a force; to aid in this respect and in a measure to replace

the present partially subordinate Commanders-in-Chief, the whole Army might conveniently be divided into three *Corps d'Armée*, either representing the three existing Presidencies, or what we consider would be a better arrangement in many respects, composed, one of the troops in the Punjab and Sind or the *Corps d'Armée* of the Indus, another of the whole of the Peninsula South of the Nerbudda, with the addition of Burmah, Aden and the Straits, to be designated the *Corps d'Armée* of the Dekhan, and the third the *Corps d'Armée* of Hindustan occupying the valley of the Ganges and Jumna, Oude, Central India and Bengal Proper.

Although we own to looking upon this measure with a very favourable eye, we are fully aware that it is opposed to the views of many able and experienced men, for whose opinions we entertain the highest respect, and therefore it is one that we should hesitate to press with any degree of self-opiniated urgency; nor do we desire to make it an essential part of our general scheme of reorganization, which could equally be carried out with or independent of, this arrangement. In fact, were the suggestion one likely to be adopted, it would be unwise to attempt its introduction until the three Armies, as they at present exist, had each been placed upon a sound and satisfactory footing, when their amalgamation would be a matter of less difficulty. Even then, with a view to prevent supersession it would be only just, as well as prudent, to let the members of the old Company's service continue to rise in their respective Presidency Armies, at any rate until all below the grades of Field Officers had been absorbed.

But setting this part of the question altogether aside, let us now consider what proportion of the force proposed for India it would be necessary to assign to Bengal; as the chaotic condition of the army of that Presidency, renders it imperatively necessary that the first and earliest possible measures should be adopted in order to put that force on a satisfactory footing.

Taking only the most important political or strategical points along the line of the Ganges and Jumna, in Oude, Central India and the Punjab, assigning to the majority a complete, but to a few only a demi-Brigade, the lowest number that could be adopted with safety would be 22 such Brigades, or 22 European Regiments and 44 Native Battalions of Infantry, allowing a grand Garrison to each Division, of which six at least would be required, and, in addition also to Lucknow and Agra, eight more European and six Native Battalions would be necessary. But as already stated, the Brigade at the Presidency would require three European Regiments, being in fact a reserve Brigade on one of the bases of operations. In like manner the im-

portance of Allahabad would render it necessary to strengthen that Brigade with a second European Regiment, and a similarly strong Brigade for the frontier, not immediately in advance in the Peshawur valley, but in reserve at the healthy station of Rawul Pindoo, these reinforcements would add four European Regiments to the establishment, and with six European Regiments in general reserve in the Hills, would give a total of 40 Regiments of European and 50 Battalions of Native Infantry. To this force must be added the Irregular or Local Corps for the Trans-Indus frontier, the Eastern Provinces of Assam, Arrakan, &c., and for Chota Nagpore, Oude, Bundelkund and Hurrianah, as also Goorkah Battalions for the Hill Brigades; these altogether cannot be calculated at less than 30 Battalions; making a total of 40 European and 80 Native Battalions regular and irregular, or 36,000 European and 57,600 Native Infantry, being in the exact proportion of 5 to 8. Of Cavalry allowing two entire Brigades, each of a Regiment, of 4 Squadrons, of Europeans and the same of Native Cavalry, to be placed on the main line of communications, viz., at Cawnpore and Umballah; the latter to be ultimately removed to or connected with the line of railway between Delhi and Lahore; giving a Squadron of European and two of Native Cavalry to all the other Brigades and demi-Brigades when that arm can be used with effect, or when not in immediate vicinity of a Cavalry Brigade, with a double complement at Peshawur or Nowshera whichever may be decided on as the chief frontier station, and with 3 Squadrons of each at Gwalior, and 3 Native Regiments attached to the Irregular force, the total required will be 36 Squadrons of 9 Regiments of European, and double that proportion of Native Cavalry. As regards the Artillery, a Battery of Horse Artillery would be required for each Division of the Army at least one to each Cavalry Brigade, two broken up with moveable columns in Oude and Central India, and at least two in general reserve, making a total of 12. Of Field and Garrison Batteries, an average of one of each would be required for each of the 22 Brigades, one for each of the 8 great Garrisons, and 2 in general reserve, making a total of 32 of each. Lastly the number of Sapper and Miner Companies could not be estimated at less than 8, forming one Battalion and giving an average of one per Division and two in reserve.

Of the proposed distribution of this force our readers will be able to form a better idea from the following statement, which will sufficiently indicate the principle adopted, although we do not presume to submit it as representing the most perfect or effective mode of allotment. It will be observed however that

every station therein proposed, is at present occupied or has generally been held by an equally strong or stronger force, though not always with the same proportion of Europeans, with the exception of the neighbourhood of Rajmahal. A glance at the map will show the strategic importance of this position, at the elbow of the Ganges, and at the point where the E. I. Railway strikes the river. Rajmahal itself is too unhealthy for a European military station, but a little above, nearer Colgong, about Putterghatta, an eligible site might be obtained, well raised with rocky soil, and comparatively free from jungle, commanding the river opposite to Carragola Ghât, from whence roads diverge towards Tirhoot, Eastern Bengal and Darjeeling. Sooner or later a Military position must be established in that quarter, if only for the protection of the railway property, Government stores, and commercial produce that must ultimately be accumulated there, and whilst the subject of locating the proposed force is under consideration, it might as well be taken up at once, whilst ground is available. Hurreekce, it will also be observed, is coupled with Ferozepore, under the belief that the former is the point at which the railway to Lahore must cross, and consequently that all the establishments at Ferozepore will be moved thither; it being also much the better strategic position,—below the junction of the Beas with the Sutlej. With the railway crossing at that point, it would become the key of the Punjab. It will also be observed that the demi-Brigades in Central India, Bundelkund, Oude, Goruckpore and Segowlie, Futtehgurh, and the Punjab, have all got a full Brigade proportion of Cavalry so as to render them efficient as light moveable columns. When a Regiment is divided between two stations, 6 Companies might be established at the Head Quarters, and 4 detached, but for the fortified post where the latter would be stationed, 2 Companies might also be detached from the Head Quarter Brigade of the Division, or Veteran Companies might be located there.



Proposed Stations.	Infy.		Cavy.		Artillery				Sapper and Miner Company.	
	E. Battalion.	N. Regulars.	N. Irregulars.	E. Squadron.	N. Squadron.	H. A. Battery.	Field Battery.	Garn. Battery.		N. Battery.
Garrison and City of Delhi, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Delhi Brigade and Meerut Depot, ...	1	2	...	1	2	2	3	2	...	1
Bareilly Brigade, ...	1	2	...	2	4	...	1	1	...	...
Kumaon Reserve Brigade & Roorkee, ...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Futtyghur, and Agra Garrison, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	2	...	...
Agra Brigade, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Umballa Cavalry Brigade, ...	...	...	...	4	4	1	...	...	...	...
Simla, Kussowlie and Dugshae Reserve Brigade, ...	3	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Moradabad, Shajehanpore and Hurrianah, ...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi Division,	9	9	6	8	12	3	7	7	...	3
European Detachments from Delhi, Agra, and the Hills, at Allighur, Muttra, Roorkee and Umballa.										
Garrison and City of Lahore, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Lahore Brigade and Unritsur, ...	1	2	...	2	4	1	1	1	...	1
Forozepore or Hurreekee Brigade, ...	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Jullunder Brigade, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Mooltan, ...	1	2	...	1	2	...	1	1	...	...
Chumba and Kangra Reserve Brigd.	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahore Division,	7	9	2	4	8	1	5	5	...	1
European Detachments from Lahore and the Hills at Unritsur and Phillore.										
Peshawur or Nowshera Garrison, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Peshawur or Nowshera Brigade, ...	1	2	...	2	4	1	1	1	...	1
Rawul Pindee Brigade, ...	2	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...
Jhelum and Sealkote, ...	1	2	...	2	4	...	2	2	...	...
Trans-Indus Frontier, Derajat and Huzara, ...	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	4	...
Peshawur Division,	5	6	8	4	16	2	4	4	4	1
European Detachments from Peshawur and Rawul Pindee at Kohat, Attock, &c.,										
Total,	44	150	130	36	72	12	132	52	6	8



The total force for Bengal would then consist of

40 Regiments of European Infantry, ...	36,000
9 " " European Cavalry, ...	5,400
2 Brigades Horse Artillery, ...	2,100
8 Brigades Foot Artillery, ...	8,320
8 Detachments of Sappers, ...	240

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Total Europeans, 52,060

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50 Battalions of Regular Native Infantry, ...	36,000
30 " " Irregular " " ...	21,600
18 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, ...	10,800
6 Batteries of Native Artillery, ...	900
76 Details of Gun Lascars, ...	1,140
8 Companies of Miners, ...	800

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71,240

A force of the foregoing strength and composition, located on the principle above proposed, with its base on the seaboard, a strong reserve force in the rear of its most exposed frontier, all its main stations in communication with each other, either by rail, river or good military roads, would, we conceive, be fully equal to any exigencies likely to arise. At the same time, that it is not unnecessarily numerous will be sufficiently evident by a comparison with the force stationed in the same localities prior to the Mutiny, which, though weaker in Europeans, was much more formidable in its native portion; and also by a reference to the suggestions laid before the Commission by those in a position to offer sound opinions, and who have gone into the subject in any degree of detail.

Thus, for instance, for the Bengal Presidency alone

The COMMISSIONERS recommend an average of about 50,000 Europeans and 100,000 Natives.

The GOVERNOR GENERAL recommends 45 Regiments of European and 50 of Native Infantry. 13 of European Cavalry, besides Natives, and 13 Brigades or 78 Batteries and 26 Reserve Companies of Artillery.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, suggests in round numbers, 50 Regiments of European Infantry, and 25 of Cavalry, besides Artillery and Natives.

MAJOR GENERAL BIRCH, Military Secretary, recommends 68 Regiments of European and 57 of Native Infantry; 21 of European and 45 of Native Cavalry; 12 Horse and 65 Field Batteries of Artillery with 15 Reserve Companies.

MAJOR GENERAL MANSFIELD, Chief of the Staff, proposes 45 Regiments of Europeans and 56 of Native Infantry, 12

Regiments of European and 12 of Native Cavalry ; 44 Batteries of Horse and Field Artillery with 30 Reserve Companies.

COLONEL MAYHEW, the Adjutant General of the Army, recommends in round numbers 40,000 Infantry, 8000 Cavalry and 10,000 Artillery all Europeans, with 60,000 Native Infantry and Cavalry.

MAJOR GENERAL TUCKER, formerly Adjutant General, proposes a force of from 40,000 to 50,000 Europeans, including 5,000 Light Horse, and from 80,000 to 100,000 Native Troops.

The PUNJAB COMMITTEE recommend 54,000 Europeans and 136,000 Natives of sorts.

MAJOR GENERAL S. COTTON, suggests 40,000 European and 60,000 Native Infantry, exclusive of other arms.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR HARRY SMITH, recommends a force of 35 European and 60 Native Regiments of Infantry, 8 European and 30 Native Regiments of Cavalry, 20 Batteries of Horse and 47 of Field Artillery exclusive of Siege, Garrison, and Reserve Companies.

MAJOR GENERAL MONTGOMERIE, proposes an establishment of 27,000 European and 80,000 Native Infantry ; 3000 European and 12,000 Native Cavalry, 6000 European and 2600 Native Artillery, 300 European and 1000 Native Sappers.

COLONEL BURLTON, recommends 40 Regiments of European Infantry, 12 of Cavalry, and 10,000 Artillery, with 24,000 Native Cavalry and 40,000 Native Infantry.

Thus it will be evident that, whatever may be the defects of our scheme, judged by the most competent authorities on the subject, we have not over-estimated the amount of force required.

Our plan, however, although considerably below the numerical average of the above recommendations, represents tolerably fairly the mean of the different proportions suggested for Europeans and Natives.

The quota of troops we would propose to allot to Madras is based to a considerable extent on the recommendations given by Lord Harris, the late Governor, and Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, with a slight increase to the European and a considerable decrease in the native portion of the force. The principle followed should be similar to that adopted in the preceding statement of the proposed allotment of the Bengal force, except that a larger proportion of natives should be allowed for the Madras Brigades, of which one-half should be divided into demi-Brigades or with only a wing or rather six

Companies of Europeans to one and a half or two Regiments of Native Infantry; the Cavalry should be somewhat more massed together, and the proportion of Native Cavalry smaller; but then it must be taken into consideration that a large and efficient irregular force of both Infantry and Cavalry, is still in existence, and with reference to political conditions and to the good service rendered by a portion of that force during the late Mutiny, we infer that it will be maintained. The Artillery portion, however, might advantageously be allowed to die out; of course we allude to the Hyderabad Contingent, composed of 4 Regiments of Cavalry and 6 of Infantry. The Madras Army at present is organized on a somewhat extravagant scale, in five permanent Divisions with four Field, District or Subsidiary Forces. For the proposed allotment, four Divisions would be amply sufficient, and these are clearly marked out by natural and political landmarks.

The establishment proposed by Lord Harris for the Madras Presidency consists of 14 Regiments of European Infantry, 4 of Cavalry, and 36 Batteries of Horse and Foot Artillery, Field and Reserve, with a Native force as at present. Sir Patrick Grant suggests only 13 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry and 43 Batteries of Artillery, Horse, Field and Reserve, but he would increase the Native force. The Governor General suggests 12 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry and 48 Batteries of Artillery of all sorts.

The allotment we would propose for Bombay, based on the same principles as those which regulated the proposed establishment of Madras, will be shewn in the following statement. As at Calcutta, so at Kurrachee, we would have a complete European Brigade of 3 Regiments of Infantry with Artillery, available for service whenever required; this Brigade by the aid of Steamers might in a day or two be thrown on any part of the West coast of the Dekhan, between Surat and Bombay, or in a short time conveyed to Aden, Persia or Egypt if required. The two spare Companies for each Regiment would suffice for the Garrison of Kurrachee, when the Brigade was withdrawn, and generally might spare two Companies for the Citadel at Hydrabad. The climate of Kurrachee is salubrious and well-suited to the European constitution, but forage is scarce, so that any large force of Cavalry could not be located there except at heavy expense. Major General Jacob was so strongly impressed with its advantages in a strategic, political and sanatory point of view, that he recommended the permanent maintenance of 10,000 European troops there. In the location of the remainder of the proposed establishment for this Presidency, we have been guided by the recommendations of Lord Elphinstone. Sir

H. Somerset, Colonel Green, the Adjutant General, and Sir Bartle Frere.

Proposed Stations.	Infantry.		Cavalry.		Artillery.				Sapper and Miner Company.
	European Battalion.	Native Regulars.	Native Irregulars.	European Squadron.	Native Squadron.	Horse Artly. Battery.	Field Battery.	Garrison Battery.	
Bombay Garrison and Island,	1	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Poona Garrison, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Poona Brigade, ...	1	3	...	...	...	1	1	1	...
Kirkee Cavalry Brigade, ...	...	...	...	4	4	1	...	...	...
Belgaum and Sattara, ...	1	3	...	2	4	1	1	1	...
Ahmednuggur and Sholapore.	1	3	...	2	4	1	2	2	...
Malligaum, Kolapore and Dharwar.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
&c., ...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Aden, ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Bombay Division,	5	15	2	8	12	4	6	7	...
Kurrachee Garrison and Brigade, ...	3	2	...	...	...	1	2	2	...
Hyderabad, ...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	1
Jacobabad, ...	...	...	2	...	8	...	...	...	1
Deesa and Rajkot, ...	1	3	...	3	4	1	1	1	...
Ahmedabad and Broach, ...	1	3	...	1	2	...	2	1	...
Baroda, Surat, Dhurrumpoor, &c.,...	...	2	2	...	...	...	1	1	...
Sind and Guzerat Division,...	5	11	4	4	16	2	6	5	2
Total,	10	26	6	12	28	6	12	12	2

The establishment proposed by Lord Elphinstone is 9 Regiments of Infantry, 2 of Cavalry, 24 Batteries of Artillery of sorts, a Company of Sappers, and 3 Companies of African Artillery, with a Native force of 25 Regular Regiments of Infantry, 9 of Irregular Cavalry and 5 Companies of Sappers, besides Irregular Infantry, Police and the Marine Battalion.

Sir Henry Somerset recommends 15 Regiments of Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, 33 Battalions of Artillery of sorts, a Battalion of 600 Sappers and a Company of 800 Military Train, all Europeans, with 39 Regiments of Native Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and

a Battalion of Native Sappers. But he calculates in this proportion for the permanent occupation of Rajpootana, Meywar and Malwa by the Bombay Army, which we have suggested—and we think not without good reason—should revert to the Bengal force.

Colonel Green proposes an establishment of 16 Regiments of European Infantry, 4 of Cavalry, and 32 Batteries of Artillery, 4 Companies of Sappers, with a Native force of 30 Regiments of Infantry and 6 of Cavalry, with 12 Companies of Sappers, but his scheme is also based on the idea that Central India would remain with the Bombay Army.

Sir Bartle Frère's scheme is the most moderate of all, being confined to 8,500 European Infantry, 500 Cavalry and 3,500 Artillery; with 28,800 Native Infantry, 7500 Native Cavalry, 700 Artillery and 500 Sappers.

Our plan represents an average of the proposed European establishments, but a reduction of the Native force beyond all the other plans.

The next consideration is the proportion of Line and Local troops to be allotted to each Presidency; and this must depend chiefly on the proportion of Regular Native Infantry Battalions allotted to each, with the general necessity for a larger proportion of Europeans in the Bengal Army than at the other Presidencies.

In Bengal it is proposed to maintain 50 Battalions of Native Infantry, which, absorbing 50 existing Cadres of officers, would leave 30 Cadres available for 15 European Regiments, or a proportion of 3 European to 10 Native Battalions. To complete the complement of 40 European Regiments, 25 Line Corps would be required for Bengal, giving the relative proportions of 5 to 3. 30 Irregular or Local Battalions must be added chiefly for frontier duties.

Of Cavalry there are 9 Regiments required: of this number 5 Local Corps already exist. But of the 5 Royal Regiments proposed for all India, if one is assigned to each of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, there will only remain 3 for Bengal, for which Presidency one more Regiment is still required. But at Madras there is a surplus proportion of this arm in the local force, and 2 Regiments or Cadres of officers might be transferred at once to Bengal to regulate the proportion and complete the wants of the latter Presidency. This measure, which has been already under consideration more than once, could complete the establishment required for Bengal. The proportion of 2 Natives to one European renders 18 Regiments of Irregular Cavalry requisite, which would not give one troop too many. The existing 12 Battalions of Local Artillery converted into 8 Brigades on the

Royal system, together with 2 Royal Brigades, would furnish the requirements of that arm. A Battalion of 8 Companies of Sappers and Miners would complete the required establishment.

At Madras 41 Battalions of Native Infantry, as proposed, would leave 14 *Cadres* of officers available for 7 European Regiments; to which latter 7 Line Regiments would have to be added to complete the proposed establishment of 14.

Of Cavalry the 6 *Cadres* of officers remaining after the transfer of 2 to Bengal, would suffice for 3 Regiments of European Light Horse, which with one of Dragoons would give the total of 4 proposed. The fact of the Hyderabad Contingent with 4 Regiments of Native Cavalry being so intimately mixed up with the force of the Madras Presidency, would render the full complement of Irregular Cavalry unnecessary and it might be reduced from 8 to 6 Regiments, giving the surplus to Bombay, where this arm would be more required. For the same reason, the proportion of Irregular Infantry need not be large; 4 Battalions would suffice, leaving 6 available for Bombay.

The 7 Madras and the 5 Bombay Battalions might be organized as 8 Brigades, 4 for Madras and 3 for Bombay, being composed of officers exclusively belonging to their respective Presidencies, the 5th Brigade for Madras being composed of Madras and Bombay Officers in the respective proportions of 2 to 1. A Battalion of 6 Companies of Sappers and 4 Batteries of Native Artillery would complete the establishment required for Madras.

The Bombay complement of 26 Native Battalions of Infantry, with the Marine Battalion fully officered as proposed, would absorb 27 *Cadres* of officers, leaving 8 available for 4 Local European Regiments. 6 Line Regiments would be required in addition to complete the suggested complement of Europeans, and 6 Local or Irregular Regiments would be also available.

Of Cavalry the 3 existing Native Regiments would furnish 3 *Cadres* of officers, and a fourth *Cadre*—the only increase required by the proposed arrangements—might be formed from the whole of that arm at the three Presidencies; this would complete the quota for 2 European Regiments, and a Dragoon Regiment would have to be added, 8 Regiments of Irregulars would also be available.

The Artillery arrangement has been already suggested, to which a Battalion of Royal Artillery would be added. 2 Companies of Native Artillery and 4 of Sappers would complete the proposed establishment.

The proposed allotment and proportions at the several Presidencies will be seen at a glance in the following Abstract:

	Infantry.				Cavalry.		Artillery.			Engineers
	European.		Native.		European.	Native.	European.		Native.	Mixed.
	Line Regiments.	Local Regiments.	Regular Batteries.	Irregular Batteries.	Line Regiments.	Local Regiments.	Line Brigades.	Local Brigades.	Golundaz Batteries.	Sapper and Miner Companies.
Bengal,	25	15	50	30	3	6	18	2	8	8
Madras,	7	7	44	4	1	3	6	1	5	6
Bombay,	6	4	26	6	1	2	8	1	3	4
Total,	38	26	120	40	5	11	32	4	16	18
	64		160		16		20		21	

Numerically the Abstract will stand as follows :

	Europeans.				Natives.			
	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Sappers.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.	Miners.
Bengal, ... ..	36,000	5,400	10,420	240	57,600	10,800	2,040	800
Madras, ... ..	12,600	2,400	6,250	180	34,560	3,600	1,290	600
Bombay, ... ..	9,000	1,800	4,170	120	23,040	4,860	750	400
	57,600	9,600	20,840	540	115,200	19,200	4,080	1800
	88,580				140,280			

Another important question as regards the organization of the Native portion of the force, which—though not put before the Commission as a special subject of report,—was fully entered into in the evidence taken, is in its extended sense, whether it is better that Native Corps should be homogeneous as to race, tribe or caste, and raised in and recruited from particular districts, or whether they should be composed of different races or castes and recruited from a wider area without reference to any special locality. On this point opinions differ widely, and it appears to be one of several instances in which the adoption of one peremptory rule for the whole army would be very objectionable. Were there no antecedents or existing arrangements to be considered, we should look upon the plan of homogeneous corps as decidedly the best, provided these were of different races and no one class of Regiments in marked numerical preponderance. Corps thus constituted could not combine more than the most composite bodies have done under the old system; and the combination of a few such Corps, isolated and separated in creed and interests from the rest of the force, would be comparatively harmless. On this system, if necessary, race could be more effectually pitted against race, the grand principle of *Divide et Impera* could be more easily and completely carried out, and general combination would be much less probable or feasible than in an army composed of similarly constituted composite Regiments.

Homogeneous Regiments raised from particular districts and with a certain Local character would possess more *esprit de*



*corps* and internal harmony than could be expected from composite bodies, the Corps would naturally become to a greater extent the home of the men, and the service rendered more popular and desirable. Lastly, it would admit of the introduction of a system of messing which, on service at least, would be highly beneficial, a sad loss of time resulting from the existing system of individual cooking, or even precarious messing in small groups.

But with all these advantages attached to the system, we should doubt the prudence of adopting it generally throughout the army, were such a measure practicable, which it is not at present. The existing armies of Madras and Bombay are and always have been composed of composite Regiments, with the area of the whole Dekhān for their recruiting grounds, and any extensive or sudden change in this respect might be attended with much inconvenience, and be received with dislike or suspicion. In the new Bengal Army, however, such a system might be introduced to a certain extent with considerable advantage; the force consisting of about one-half homogeneous and the other half composite Battalions. In the latter moreover a proportion might consist experimentally of composite Regiments, composed of homogeneous Companies, as an experiment: this plan has been tried in the Guide Corps and to a certain extent in some of the Punjab Regiments, and undoubtedly has some advantages; but on the whole we look upon the purely homogeneous or entirely composite corps as preferable. Still, as observed by the Punjab Committee, there is an advantage in a variety of systems, and on this ground we would suggest a few corps being organized on this system.

Under these circumstances we would suggest that of the 50 Native Regular Battalions proposed for Bengal, 8 should be exclusively composed of Sikhs, 8 of Mahomedans, and 8 of Hindus. 8 to be composite Battalions, with homogeneous Companies, and 18 perfectly composite Battalions, but with no class greatly preponderating. Amongst the several homogeneous Corps of the same faith, differences might still exist; for instance the 8 Mahomedan Corps might comprise two Trans-Indus Soonee and two Sheah—Belooch and Kuzilburh—Battalions, with one of Ronghurs; the Sikh Battalions might include one or two Muzbee and one Malwah Sikh Battalion; of the 8 Hindu Battalions one might be composed of Rahtore Rajpoots, 2 of Oude Rajpoots, 1 of Dagrahs, 1 of Bundeelahs, 1 of Goojurs, and 2 of Jāts. In the mixed Corps, one-fourth might be composed of Mahomedans, one-fourth Rajpoots, one-fourth low caste Hindoos as Ahēers, Gwallahs, &c., and the remaining fourth, according to locality of enlistment, to consist of Sikhs, Bundeelahs, Passées, Bheels, Mhairs, Mahrattas, and, if procurable, Native Christians; but

only one of these classes in a Regiment, so that no one class should either preponderate or be in a minority. No Brahmins to be admitted into the service, and no degraded classes, the employment of which would conduce towards bringing the service into disrepute.

With a force so greatly reduced in numbers as that now proposed, a much better selection of recruits might be obtained than was formerly the case, and it would be the fault of the Commanding officers if any men were wanting in physical qualification for the service.

To render military employment more desirable, and also to obtain a surer hold upon the men through the medium of their families and homes, every Corps might have permanent Head Quarters, with a space of ground assigned for the erection of houses for the men's families; and to induce the latter to settle there—but ever to accompany the Battalion on the march—the periodical reliefs might be so arranged that every fourth turn might bring each Battalion back to its own Head Quarters. This arrangement would farther be facilitated by forming Regiments of two Battalions, raised, if not both of the same class, at least from the same locality. There would be other advantages attendant on this measure as regards the European officers, who would thus be brought more into assimilation with the establishment of European Regiments, and a better arrangement of absentees would be thus obtained.

Of the Irregular Infantry a certain proportion, including 6 Goorkha, 2 Bheel, 1 Mug, 1 Mhair, and also probably 1 Bundeelah and 1 Passee Battalions, would be necessarily homogeneous, but the remainder all composite.

The Irregular Cavalry like the Infantry might be partly homogeneous and partly composite.

The recent order disbanding the remaining fragments of the majority of the regular Regiments that were more or less implicated in the Mutiny has left only 16 Battalions existing; these with the Kelat-i-Ghilzie and Shekawattie Battalions might form the foundation of the 18 composite Battalions; which might be completed from the Regiments of Loodiana and Ferozepore, the 4 Sikh, 24 Punjab and 2 Gwalior Regiments, which would also form the foundation for the remaining 32 Battalions required; selection being made with reference to race and locality, and all men physically or by character unfitted for the service being discharged. As these Battalions were formed, the various Levies might be got rid of, by discharge or absorption into the Police force. Of the Irregular Corps, 6 at least should be Goorkhas with their Head Quarters in the Hills, for which, including the 66th Regiment, 3 Native Infantry and the 4th Sikh Infan-

try, the requisite nucleus exists, and probably a sufficient strength, only requiring weeding and adjustment. 6 more Battalions would be required for the Trans-Indus frontier, which might be selected from the Punjab Corps formerly performing this duty; these to be all composite; 6 would be wanted for the South Eastern frontier including Assam, Sylhet, Arrakan, Dacca, Chittagong, &c. These, with the exception of the Mug Battalion in Arrakan, might all be composite, and 4 already exist. 6 more Battalions would be required for Central India, of which 2 Bheel and 1 Mhair Battalions exist, and 6 more would be requisite for Oude, Chota Nagpore and Hurriana.

For the proposed Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, 7 of the old establishment remain which, with the 5 Sikh Regiments, 3 of Hodson's Horse, the 2 Mahratta Regiments and the Moultee, Rohilkhand, Alexander's, Meade's and Mayne's Horse, would complete the establishment required.

The Punjab Artillery Companies, including the Peshawur and Huzara Mountain Trains with the Assam Company would form the 6 Native Batteries required.

At Madras the first measure requisite is to stop recruiting, and to reduce the Regiments to the required strength. Of the existing 52 Battalions, 44 would remain as Regulars and 4 might be counted into Irregulars, leaving 4 to be absorbed. All the Hindustanees, about 3000 in number, might advantageously be discharged or transferred to Bengal. As an experiment, of the 44 Regular Battalions 4 might be rendered homogeneous, 4 composite with homogeneous Companies, and 36 retained entirely composite, as at present.

Of the proposed 6 Irregular Cavalry Corps, the existing Light Cavalry and Beatson's Horse would suffice to complete the required establishment. The former might be gradually converted by giving them an Irregular uniform and equipment in the first instance, and when the formation of the European Cavalry was sufficiently advanced, they might be converted entirely into Irregulars, being liberally dealt with, retaining their existing claims to pension, and receiving the available horses at a low value, payable by gradual deduction from their increased pay.

The existing Madras Golundaz Battalion would more than suffice for the 4 Native Batteries proposed to be retained.

At Bombay in like manner recruiting might be stopped at once, and the Hindustanees amounting to about 13,000 got rid of by transfer or discharge. Of the 29 existing Battalions of Infantry, 26—the original complement—would be required for the new establishment, whilst the Irregular Battalions would be met by the incorporation of the 2 Regiments of Jacob's Rifles,

the Kandeish Bheel Corps, the Sawunt Warree and the Kutch Legion. The Belooch Battalions might be incorporated—2 in the Bombay and 1 in the Bengal Regular Corps. For the 8 Regiments of Cavalry proposed for Bombay, there are available the 3 Regiments of Sind Horse, the Poona, Guzerat and Mahratta Horse, with the three existing Regiments of Light Cavalry, which on their conversion should meet the same liberal treatment as suggested in the case of the Madras Cavalry.

The Artillery could of course be supplied from the existing Golundaz Battalion, any efficient surplus from this body or from the Madras Golundaz, to have the option of transfer to the Infantry.

• The Sepoys in the Madras and Bombay Armies, and those of the Bengal Army whom it has been decided to retain, would be entitled to retain all the advantages they already possess in regard to length of service, pay and pension; but every man entering hereafter should be enlisted for ten years, subject to re-enlistment, as a favour—not as a right, for a second period of ten years, and again for a third similar period if physically perfectly fit for active service; after which the fact of thirty years' good service should entitle him to pension; but no other retiring pensions to be granted except for wounds received on service. All should be enlisted for general service.

Although due consideration should be invariably shown towards the religious feelings of the Native Army, caste should be ignored wherever it interfered with duty. To prevent any misconception on this point, no recruit should be admitted into the service unless prepared in presence of the Battalion to drink from a Bheestee's mussuck, to cook and eat his food with clothes and accoutrements on, and to handle spade and pickaxe in digging a trench. The Articles of War for the Native Army should be revised and simplified, the code of discipline rendered more strict, and the fullest penalties not only awarded but carried out in the cases of mutiny, combination or desertion.

But above all,—and on this measure the efficiency of the future Native Army must chiefly depend,—the power of the European officers in Native Corps must be increased, that of the Commanding officers being largely extended. The native soldier can only be ruled by the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. For a Commanding officer powerless to confer either the one or the other, he has neither respect or regard. In former days deep respect, implicit obedience and sincere devotion to his officers, were the characteristic features of the sepoy, but in those days the Commanding officer was nearly absolute; he could flog or discharge, as he could also promote any man; he was the Malik, the Chief of the military body, who looked up

to him and to him alone for reward or punishment. We have no reason to believe that this power was generally abused, but we know that the system was suitable and that it worked admirably. As the European and centralizing systems were gradually introduced, the power of the Commanding officer passed away, and with it the respect and regard of the men. We no longer heard of the sepoy exposing his own life to shield his officer from the chance of injury, or of the Native Commissioned officers of the highest castes bearing the body of their deceased Commander to the grave, which was common enough in the olden days of the Bengal Army.

Let the old powers be restored, do away entirely with Regimental Courts Martial in Native corps, but assign to the Commanding officer the full punitive powers heretofore exercised by that tribunal. Give the Commanding officer power to discharge any man under 10 years' service, without further reference or appeal, only forwarding a statement to Head Quarters of the reasons for such a measure; the discharge of men above ten years' service requiring only the sanction of the officer commanding the Brigade, and if above 20 years' service or a non-commissioned officer, that of the General officer commanding the Division. Let him have the entire control of promotion and degradation of all grades below that of Native Commissioned Officer, and for and in those grades let his recommendations meet due attention from Head Quarters.

If such powers were not abused in former days, there is less probability of such occurring now, when a higher tone of morality and a clearer sense of right and wrong pervade the class of European commissioned officers. The chances would be further reduced by a careful selection of Commanding officers, and by the summary removal from command of those who manifested incapacity or displayed evident injustice.

Another important question remains for consideration, and that is—the best mode of providing for the Staff duties of the army, including the appointments to Irregular corps and to Political or other Civil employ. This question is intimately mixed up with that of the requisite permanent establishments for Regular Corps.

We are not of those who would advocate the formation of a separate Staff Corps which we firmly believe must involve considerable and unnecessary expense with very great inconvenience and dissatisfaction. Neither are we of those who consider that the employment of Regimental officers on Staff or Civil employ is objectionable, providing that the efficiency of Regiments is not impaired by their absence, or in other words if the establishment of officers is sufficient to meet this drain. The

Brigade, Division and Army Staff are all calculated to render an officer better fitted for ultimate command; employment with Irregular corps gives the junior officers earlier chances of independent charge and accustoms them to responsibility; many of the duties connected with the Department of Public Works are not bad training for the professional duties in the field, and the Revenue Survey and Political Department afford opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of the country and people that may be invaluable in after life. Moreover, an army is all the better for having prizes to offer as stimulants to study and preparation. We admit that injury has been inflicted on the service by denuding Regiments of officers for Staff situations, and also that in many cases the general craving for Staff employ created a distaste for Regimental duty, but not with the best men. Taken altogether we firmly believe that on the old system the advantages counterbalanced the evils, and that much of the latter might be obviated or remedied.

The simplest plan, it appears to us, would be to fix the minimum establishment requisite for Regimental duty in both European and Native Corps, allowing a margin for absentees on furlough and temporarily detached duties; and then, if any officer of that establishment was appointed to the permanent Staff, civil or military, let him be *seconded* at once, his name borne on the Regimental Rolls as Supernumerary, and a promotion made in his place. On vacating his appointment—if by promotion to a higher grade—he would return to his corps taking up the higher step; if under other circumstances, he would be a supernumerary with the Regiment until some other officer of the same grade got an appointment, or a casualty occurred. There might be some objection to carrying out this arrangement amongst the Field officers, as the *seconding* a junior Major might give undue promotion in particular corps; but in the grades of Captain and Subaltern the arrangement would, we think, answer admirably.

We have already proposed to form European Regiments of 10 Companies, and Native Regiments of 2 Battalions or 16 Companies, by doubling up two existing *Cadres* of officers. This plan would give—exclusive of the Colonels—2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 14 Captains, 22 Lieutenants and 10 Ensigns per Regiment. Now for a European Regiment of 10 Companies, allowing for a *depôt* in England and another in India, 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 12 Captains, 24 Lieutenants and 12 Ensigns would be quite sufficient, affording 4 officers per Company, which ought to give sufficient margin for Regimental Staff and absentees.

In like manner for a Native Regiment of 2 Battalions the

4 field officers with 10 Captains and 20 Lieutenants would be ample, allowing a Commandant, second in Command, 2 Staff and one Officer per Company to each Battalion, with 5 to spare for absentees. To the Native Regiments no Ensigns should be attached; all officers of that grade doing duty with the European Regiments, whence, as vacancies occurred in either European or Native Regiments, the senior Ensigns should be promoted provided they had passed a prescribed examination, not only in their drills and exercises, but in a knowledge of the duties of a Company either European or Native, with a moderate acquaintance with at least one language.

In like manner a European Cavalry Regiment might consist of 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 10 Captains and 20 Lieutenants, that complement being sufficient for 8 Regimental and 2 Dépôt Troops, allowing four Commandants, second in Command, Regimental Staff, and 4 Officers per Squadron, with a liberal margin for absentees. It is not proposed to allow in future any Cornets to the Cavalry, under the impression that it would be a far better arrangement if, instead of appointments for this branch being made direct at home without reference to special qualification or fitness, all vacancies were filled up by selection from amongst the junior Lieutenants of the other branches, or from the senior Ensigns of the Infantry; none being admissible who could not pass a satisfactory ordeal in riding and swordsmanship as well as in the other branches requisite for promotion to a Lieutenancy. This arrangement would at any rate insure physical efficiency; and a similar test, with the addition of a tolerable knowledge of the languages, should be imperative for entrance into the Irregular Cavalry also.

These reduced establishments would afford a considerable body of Officers, Captains and Subalterns for the Staff and for employment with Irregular Corps.

The following statement will shew the numbers available at the several Presidencies:—

Present Establishment.	Grades.	European Regiments.	Native Regiments.	Total required.	Surplus.
Bengal.	Colonels.	15	25	40	38
	Lieut. Colonels.	30	50	80	...
	Majors.	30	50	80	...
	Captains.	180	250	430	130
	Subalterns.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 360 \\ 180 \end{array} \right\}$	500	1040	240
		7			
Madras.	Colonels.	14	22	29	27
	Lieut. Colonels.	14	44	58	...
	Majors.	14	44	58	...
	Captains.	84	220	304	102
	Subalterns.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 168 \\ 84 \end{array} \right\}$	440	692	236
		4			
Bombay.	Colonels.	8	13 + 1	18	15
	Lieut. Colonels.	8	26 + 1	35	...
	Majors.	8	26 + 1	35	...
	Captains.	48	130 + 6	184	61
	Subalterns.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 96 \\ 48 \end{array} \right\}$	260 + 12	416	144



The Cavalry establishments of the three Presidencies will be better calculated together, as they would require a certain amount of amalgamation to carry out the proposed scheme. ●

Present Establish- ment.	Grades.	European Regiments.	Surplus.	Deficien- cy.
21	Colonels.	10	10	...
21	Lieut. Colonels.	22	...	1
21	Majors.	22	...	1
147	Captains.	110	37	...
273	Subalterns.	220	53	...

The foregoing statements exhibit, exclusive of the Colonels, a surplus of 530 Captains and 673 Subalterns, or a total of 1203 Officers available for Staff and detached employ.

Now the Irregular Corps would absorb a considerable proportion of this surplus, as, to render them really efficient, they would require a much larger complement of European Officers than has heretofore been allowed. There is no greater fallacy than to suppose that, because Irregular Corps have generally had only 3 or 4 Officers attached, such a complement is sufficient, or, as some have gone the length of stating, that Corps thus imperfectly officered are better than Regiments with fuller complements. If this means anything, it must mean that a larger complement must be objectionable. Now we believe that the main question of efficiency is dependent on a sufficient complement of European Officers, more especially on service; and the utter inefficiency of the Bengal Mutineer Regiments when deprived of their European leaders, although in many cases all forms of discipline and manœuvres were retained, and the armaments and equipments were unchanged, goes far to prove the correctness of our opinion. Are we so soon to forget the warning voice of Sir Charles Napier from the field of Meance, when, in his report of that action, he so strongly expressed himself in the following memorable words? "I hope your Lordship will pardon me for saying that the want of European Officers in the Native Regi-

'ments at one period endangered the success of the action. The 'sepoys' is a brave and excellent soldier, but he requires to be led 'on in certain movements, and as he looks to his European 'Officer, if he misses him, the greatest danger arises—three times 'I saw them retreat, evidently because their Officers had fallen, 'and when another appeared and rallied them, they at once 'followed him boldly. This, my Lord, accounts for the great 'number of European officers killed and wounded in proportion 'to the whole. I am sure that in observing a defect in 'the formation of the Company's troops, the effect of which 'might have been so serious, I shall not be deemed presumptuous 'or impertinent."

Sir H. Somerset, the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, a most unprejudiced advocate, is very earnest on the same topic. In his able Minute he says;—"While I quite agree that three Euro- 'pean officers are sufficient for each police corps, I cannot believe 'that that degree of discipline, which is the life and soul of the 'regular army, can ever be established or maintained by that 'number of European officers per Regiment in a native Indian 'army. Whatever soldier-like qualities the sepoy may hitherto 'have shown, he owes their development solely to his Euro- 'pean officers, under whose directing influence his natural pre- 'judices and apathy have been overcome."

"A well officered native regiment is not only, as a rule, a better 'disciplined and more efficient body in the field than an irregu- 'lar one, but it has greater weight in the country in time 'of peace. Its European Officers often exercise a beneficial 'influence beyond the limits of their Regiment, and I have ob- 'served that political officers and Magistrates, in certain cir- 'cumstances, estimate the native regulars at a very different 'standard from other native troops."

"That the reduction of European officers in the native 'army would involve a loss of its discipline and general efficien- 'cy, there can be no doubt; but there is a still more serious evil 'inseparable from it, and that is, *the undue power it would throw 'into the hands of the native officers*, for officers there must be 'of one kind or the other."

"I firmly believe that no addition of European strength that 'we are able to make, would even compensate for the moral and 'physical paralysis which, on undue reduction of European offi- 'cers, would occur to the native army, and through it to the 'State."

"When I reflect that out of the three officers proposed for 'each Regiment, dashing and ingenious leaders for every diffi-

‘on all occasions have to be supplied, casualties filled, the errors of indiscipline rectified by holding together the wavering or rallying the broken mass, I feel utterly at a loss to account for ‘so suicidal a plan as that under notice”

These are opinions deserving of careful consideration, and they are shared by the majority of the practical officers who have written on this subject. We may specially refer to the forcible and sound opinions expressed by Brigadier Colin Troup on this subject, who ably exposes “the clap net of the present day, that three European officers are sufficient for a native regiment.”

The efficiency of the Punjab Irregular force with a limited complement of officers, has made many converts to this theory, and is constantly brought forward as an argument in favor of the present Irregular system. But the fact is, that these corps have been rendered so far efficient, not by or through, but in despite of, this objectionable system. They promised the great advantage of being commanded not only by picked officers, but by officers furnished with the requisite powers to enforce obedience and discipline; and if this advantage so far counterbalanced the evil of a paucity of officers, how much greater would have been the efficiency of the same corps with a more suitable complement. It is also to be considered that, during the late campaign, additional officers were attached to most of these corps that are actively employed, a measure that, however judicious in itself, afforded a practical example of the weakness of the existing system.

If all the officers attached to irregular corps are selected, the complement need not be so large as in the regular regiments, but in both Infantry and Cavalry we consider that in addition to the Commandant and his Staff, there should always be a second in command, and one officer to every two Companies or to each Squadron in the Cavalry, a measure specially recommended by the Commissioners in their Report. Each Irregular Infantry Battalion would thus have 8 officers including a Quarter Master, and each Cavalry Regiment 6 including only one Staff Officer, the Adjutant. The proposed establishment of forty Infantry and 32 Irregular Corps would, on this scale, absorb 512 officers, exclusive of those required for the Hyderabad Contingent, Guide Corps and the Viceroy's Body Guard.

To each Brigade there should be, in addition to the Brigadier Commanding, a Brigade Major and a Brigade Quarter Master, who might be selected from the office of the Brigade, as a temporary measure, without the necessity for their being *seconded*; but to prevent inconvenience from frequent changes in these appointments, the duties of the Divisional Staff should be extended so as to embrace much that now falls to the Brigade Staff. Each Brigade

should also have a Commissariat Officer attached, taken from that department, and a Field Engineer, who might also be the Executive Engineer; assisted by a Barrack Master or Invalid or Warrant Officer. The Divisional Staff might consist of the General Officer Commanding, his A. D. C., Assistant Adjutant General, Assistant Quarter Master General, an Assistant Judge Advocate General, with a Deputy Pay Master, a Senior Commissariat, Senior Engineer Officer, and a Commissary of Ordnance attached.

The Staff of the General Officer Commanding a *Corps d'Armée*, who would in a measure represent, and perform most of the duties of, the present Commanders-in-Chief of the minor Presidencies, might consist of a Deputy and 2 Assistants in both the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's Departments, a Military Secretary, 2 Aide-de-Camps with the addition of a Deputy Commissary General, a Chief Engineer, a Deputy Judge Advocate General, and a Deputy Principal Commissary of Ordnance.

The General Staff with the Commander-in-Chief to include an Adjutant and a Quarter Master General, each with at least two Deputies and two Assistants, the Judge Advocate General, with the Commandants of Artillery and Engineers, and a Personal Staff as at present.

Of the Army Staff a fixed proportion should be conferred on the Line Army which should not be exceeded; and in each Department it would be desirable to have both Armies proportionally represented, as also the several branches. The nearest convenient proportions would be 2 Line to 5 Local. The appointments to the Commissariat, Pay and Audit Departments, &c., to Irregular Corps and to Political employ, might be open to both services; but with a strict examination as to knowledge of the languages, and a rule necessitating a certain previous residence in India, the bulk of these appointments would fall to the Local force.

Notwithstanding the objections to Staff Corps generally, it is a question if it would not be advisable to constitute what may be looked upon as the administrative Departments of the Army into a permanent separate Corps, including the present Commissariat, Clothing, Pay and Audit Departments. The special qualifications required for real efficiency in these Departments, render it desirable that when once obtained by, they should be retained for the benefit of, the State; and moreover the performance of these duties is of no great benefit in military training for command, as is the case in other Departments. Were this arrangement adopted it ought to insure greater Departmental efficiency, and of course the interests of those so employed should be carefully looked to. The simplest plan would be to make selection from the Army of

qualified Volunteers for these Departments, qualification consisting of a certain period of service in India, a competent knowledge of the languages, and also of general, professional, and special Departmental duties, all to be tested by examination. On vacancies occurring selected candidates to act on probation for a year; after which, if pronounced eligible, they would be finally struck off the strength of their regiments. Promotion to be regulated by length of actual service; the emolument to consist of the pay and allowances of the several grades of Army rank, with Departmental Staff allowances. Departmental promotion to be altogether irrespective of Army rank. The honorary rank of Major General and Brigadier to attach to the senior appointments.

For all other staff appointments the previous passing a prescribed examination to be absolutely necessary, with fixed periods of actual service in India according to the nature of the appointment.

The officers surplus to the regimental complements, we have proposed, would be all absorbed by the Civil and Military Staff, including Irregular and Police Corps. After formation with the full establishment of two *Cadres* per Regiment, the complement should be allowed to fall to the number proposed; any appointment after that to involve *seconding* and new promotion.

It would still remain to provide for the surplus Colonels. This could be done either by allowing the appointment of a Colonel Commandant and a Colonel to each Regiment, or, what we look upon as a preferable arrangement, by transferring all the surplus Colonels, of each arm, or an equivalent number of the oldest Colonels being General Officers, to a non-effective list; the emoluments in either case to remain the same. The compensation for off-reckonings, which is one of the guaranteed advantages, being given in the same manner as at present to the senior Regimental Officers, without reference to Brevet rank or nature of employment, thus carrying out the spirit and intention of the original orders and regulations connected with this privilege.

But whilst the palladium of the service, the Regimental rise by seniority, is carefully preserved and respected, it is most desirable that arrangement should be made, and firmly and honestly acted up to, in order to obviate the attendant evil of placing inefficient men in commands. The double complement of field officers would admit of wider and better selection for Regimental or Battalion commands; but any field officer unfit for such commands should be summarily transferred to the retired list, if he would not take a plain hint to retire himself; the pension of his rank or any higher pension he might be entitled to by length of service accompanying the transfers. For the Bri-

gade commands, on the efficient occupation of which the well-being of the Army must mainly depend, selection by merit—within the limits of proportion for the two armies—should be the guide, and Line Brevet or Army rank would tell favourably when accompanying continued efficiency. The recent Order giving Brigadiers rank over any Field Officer in their Brigades, is calculated materially to facilitate the selection of fitting men. The Command of Divisions in like manner should be by selection.

Brigade and Divisional Commands should continue open to all branches as at present; but as far as practicable officers should be employed in commands of their own particular arms. As the number of Divisions would be reduced, an Inspector General of Cavalry might be sanctioned with the rank, pension and emoluments of a Divisional Commander: the General Commandant of the whole Artillery might be put on a similar footing, and in each *Corps d'Armée* there might be a Commandant of that arm on the footing of a Brigadier. By retaining only one General Staff for the whole Army, all Departments and arms might be fairly represented and efficiently controlled, whilst a saving would still accrue to the State.

These, however, are matters of detail which could be subsequently arranged, our object now is rather to elucidate the principle than to elaborate the minutiae of such an organization.

All the European Local Corps would require recruiting Depôts in England. These might be permanently fixed at convenient stations for the Infantry and Cavalry, a Depôt Brigade for the Local Artillery being organized at Woolwich, and a Depôt Battalion at Chatham for the Local Engineers. The Commands and Staff of these Depôts should constitute permanent and selected appointments, the current duties being performed by officers and Non-Commissioned officers of the Local European Corps on furlough, duty at the Depôt counting as service, but the time to be limited to one year. Officers so employed would bring out the recruits annually, and all Cadets on appointment should join one or other of these Depôts, to learn their duties, not being allowed to leave until they had passed in their drills. Similar Depôts would be requisite in India, at well selected healthy stations, where the men would proceed on arrival, and not join their respective corps until somewhat acclimated. The strength at the Depôts in England and India should each be equal to the average annual casualties of the respective arms.

Lastly, such of the well conducted old soldiers who, though unfit to perform the active duties of a long campaign, might yet be well qualified for sedentary service, and who desired to remain in India, might be formed into Veteran Companies.

Battalions, and employed on Garrison duty at stations where a small European Garrison would be desirable. These Battalions to be open to both Line and Local soldiers, but good character to be absolutely requisite to ensure admission. Probably 4 Battalions of Infantry and one of Artillery would absorb all the qualified men of this class ordinarily available.

One question yet remains, the armament and equipment of the Sepoy. On the broad principle we consider that if it is advisable to have a Native Army at all, it should be rendered as efficient as practicable, so as to be available for employment against any enemy whatever. This principle we would desire to see acted upon to the fullest extent ultimately, but for the present we would make a single reservation in the case of the arms. After all that has occurred it would be well to withhold the Enfield Rifle from the Native soldier for a time, but let him be taught to look upon that armament as the greatest honor and reward he can obtain; thus we would let the Native Corps win their arms by their conduct. To show to the Army that such an arrangement was really contemplated, one or two of the most distinguished Corps might receive the new arms at once, as for instance the Guides and the Sirmoor Battalion, both of which gallantly established their claim to such honour at Delhi specially. For other Corps the smooth-bore percussion musket is the most appropriate weapon; but the Irregular frontier Battalion might be armed with the two-grooved Rifle, as they require an accurate piece to cope with the Afghan Jizail.

The uniform and equipment of the Sepoy should, we think, correspond in general character and appearance with that of the European soldier, but the details might have more of an oriental tendency. The turban might replace the cap or helmet, and the pajamah tied at the waist be substituted for pantaloons. Without adopting a slavish copy a hint might be taken from the equipment of the Zouaves of the Franco-Algerian Army.

Lastly, though pressed for time and space, we would say a few words regarding the Police Force. Although in newly conquered provinces a military police might possess considerable advantages, as was found to be the case in Sind and the Punjab, (although the experiment was less successful in Oude, after the annexation), we look upon the arrangement as most objectionable for general employment, especially in comparatively settled provinces. The greater the effort made to give the Police a European character and training, the less fitted they become for the duties of mere Civil Police: the natural consequence of such a change is that the old Police Chowkedar must be still retained, and the expense incurred for the new Military Police, which is as much a police and dangerous as a military

force. The worst of designating the force as a Military Police is that, the smarter and more efficient the military officers employed to organize or command the details, the more they will desire, and exert themselves, to render it in accordance with its name—a military body. For these considerations we would recommend the abolition of the term Military Police, and the avoidance of Military semblance in the armament, equipment or even the designation of the grades and compact bodies.

We heartily advocate the adoption of measures to render the Police of the whole country more efficient than heretofore; we highly approve of the introduction of military order and discipline; we would gladly see the training and equipment such as to enable small bodies of Police to overcome any amount of rabble; but we would not spoil good material for Police by making bad soldiers out of it. We would recommend for the Police generally a plain, serviceable, native costume, of one uniform colour throughout the country. They might carry a tulwar suspended from a waist-belt, but their ordinary weapon should be a stout stick or bludgeon; at the several Thannahs there might be a few carbines for emergencies, and the men might be taught to use their arms, and also the elements of Company's drill sufficient to enable them to march with soldiers and without confusion. They might be organized in groups equivalent to a Company, four of them under the command of a European Officer, and a convenient number of these bodies constituting a legion equivalent to a Division of Police on the existing system, the military nomenclature being carefully avoided.

Men so organized would not be above their work, and might prove of far more use in relieving the army from much harassing duty, than if they set up for forming an army themselves.

Finally, whatever might be the extent of this force the whole of the expenses should be borne by the district or province in which it is located, and for the protection of which it is specially required.

Such is an outline of the general arrangement which we would venture to suggest. A well behaved mixed force of Europeans and Natives, reduced in number but increased in efficiency. The Infantry and Cavalry in the proportion of 1 European to 2 Natives, but the European Artillery force reducing these general proportions to 3 and 5. The European force nearly equally divided between the Line and Local Armies, the allotment made with reference to the actual conditions and circumstances of the assigned localities. The personnel of the regular force in Brigades of all arms forming a permanent army themselves, but based on the permanent force of the



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Legion. All cases of jealousy and heartburning removed by a fair and equitable adjustment of all advantages of commands and staff, provision made for ensuring efficient commanding officers. Further, whilst provision is made to ensure good recruits, suitable employment is found for the worn veteran.

A Force, which would be always available and prepared for emergency, would ensure to Great Britain the permanent command and possession of our Indian Empire, and no internal or foreign need be regarded with anxiety to succeed in wresting that jewel from her Crown.

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